Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-102
Tuesday
28 May 1991

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FBIS-EEU-91-102 *28 May 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Government Announcement on Strike Situation *[ATA]* 1
Government Appeals For 'Chance To Work' *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Strike Situation Reported 27 May *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Trade Unions Report Strike 'At Same Intensity' *[Tirana Radio]* 3
PPSh Condemns Valias Hunger Strike *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Alia Receives Miners' Trade Unionists 25 May *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Democratic Party Expresses Support for Strikers *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Republican Party on 'Confusion' in Countryside *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Islami Protests Allegations in Trade Union Paper *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Tirana Police Protest Reports in Union Paper *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Council of Europe Delegation Visits Groups *[ATA]* 5

BULGARIA

Zhelev Addresses BSP Legislative Group *[DUMA 22 May]* 7
'Radical' SDS Members Demand July Elections *[BTA]* 7
SDS Leader Dimitrov on Election Date Issue *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Assembly Chairman: September Election Likely *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Ludzhev Views SDS Structure *[DEMOKRATSIYA 22 May]* 8
SDS Expert on Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty *[BTA]* 9
Files on Assassination Attempt on Pope Released *[BTA]* 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dlouhy: No Agreement in USSR Troop Talks *[CTK]* 10
Economic Collapse, Clash of Havel, Klaus Denied *[RUDE PRAVO 20 May]* 10
Austria's Vranitzky Arrives on One-Day Visit *[CTK]* 10
Pithart Assures Vranitzky on Nuclear Plant *[Prague Radio]* 10
Economic Issues Aired *[CTK]* 10
Calfa, Vranitzky Discuss Yugoslavia *[Prague Radio]* 11
Vranitzky Briefs Journalists *[Prague Radio]* 12
Vranitsky, Miklosko Discuss Ties *[Prague Radio]* 12

POLAND

Soviets Said To Stall Troop Withdrawal Talks *[AFP]* 13
Foreign Minister on Treaties With EC, USSR *[PAP]* 13
Ministers Discuss Integration With EC *[PAP]* 13
Ministers Defend Economic Program in Sejm *[PAP]* 13
Prime Minister on Social Initiatives Movement *[PAP]* 14
Senate Approves Election Rules *[PAP]* 14
Senate Adopts Draft Constitution *[PAP]* 14
Police Stage Nationwide Warning Strike *[PAP]* 15
Gas, Electricity Prices Increased 27 May *[Warsaw Radio]* 15
Walesa To Emphasize Domestic Affairs *[PAP]* 15

ROMANIA

Prime Minister Roman on Economic Reform Program *[AZI 15 May]* 16
Bishop Tokes' Address to UDMR Congress *[ROMPRES 25 May]* 19

YUGOSLAVIA

Demonstrator Reportedly Run Over in Maribor *[Ljubljana Radio]* 21
Military Statement on Maribor Events *[TANJUG]* 21
Slovene Territorial Defense Commander Released *[TANJUG]* 21
Meets Press After Release *[TANJUG]* 21
Army Posts Reconnected to Electricity, Telephone *[TANJUG]* 22
Ljubljana Corps Claims Maribor Incidents 'Staged' *[TANJUG]* 22
VJESNIK Views Maribor 'Incident' *[TANJUG]* 22
Pucnik Says Reason Must Prevail in Conflict *[Vienna Radio]* 22
Belgrade Daily Supports Army's Acts in Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 23
Army Says Slovenian Soldier 'Accidentally Killed' *[TANJUG]* 23
Reportage on Reaction to Nickles Amendment 23
Belgrade Radio on U.S.-Serbian Ties *[Colovic on Belgrade Radio]* 23
Loncar Seeks Explanation of U.S. Position *[TANJUG]* 24
Daily on 'Gross and Unprovoked Pressure' *[TANJUG]* 25
Serbian Government Views Amendment *[Belgrade RTV]* 25
Serbia Requests Details of Amendment *[TANJUG]* 27
Federal Presidency Members Interviewed *[Belgrade RTV]* 27
Mesic Refuses To Attend Next Presidency Session *[TANJUG]* 28
Mesic Says Army Wants to 'Arbitrate' Crisis *[TANJUG]* 29
Jovic Views Election as SPS President *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Bank Official Releases Foreign Debt Figures *[TANJUG]* 29

Government Announcement on Strike Situation

AU2405194091 Tirana ATA in English 1826 GMT 24 May 91

[Announcement of the Press and Information Department at the Council of Ministers; date not given]

[Text] Tirana, May 24 (ATA)—According to the reports of the executive committees in the districts and central institutions, the strikes continue mainly in Shkoder, Durres, Tirana, Fier and Korce. In some districts there are certain eneterprises which do not work, whereas some others are not swept by strikes. The suspension of work in automobile and railway transport is triggering off the main obstacles and damages. The reports from the districts and working collectives point out that the goods and travellers' transporting parks and railway transport are impeding the work of the enterprises that have not joined the strike. The oil processing plant in Ballsh is facing great difficulties due to the nontransportation of the coke by the railway workers. The workers of the Ballsh railway workers have addressed a message to Premier Fatos Nano, reporting on the blocking of the fuel and coke transport due to the strike in the Fier and Durres regions.

Likewise, because of the lack of the urban bus service in some cities the other citizens do not go to work. Of special consequence is the strike of the workers for the travellers' transport to the health and education sectors. The executive committee of Tirana District reports that because of the impossibility of the normal movement of the medical staff working in the contryside, the health service is paralysed and what is more painful is the increase of mortality in children. Not mentioned here is the suspension of lessons in many schools. The executive committee of Elbasan District has reported on problems of this nature. The Ministry of Agriculture reports that because of the lack of maize transport from Durres the fowl rearing complex is at a critical situation.

From the reports of the organs of power and justice in Tirana, it is known from complaints and denunciations of the citizens, who want to resume work, that illegal pressures by persons who declare themselves members of the strike commissions who threaten and do not allow the workers to resume work have increased. The Council of Ministers has received petitions from working collectives which demand that an end be put to the strikes and the legal econonmic demands be solved through dialogue and logic.

The power organs and the administrations of enterprises in many districts are continuing the contacts with the strikers' representatives to make clear the content of the communique of the Council of Ministers and to attain, through dialogue, a reasonable solution. From the tidings that have come in today, it follows that in Fier the workers of the agricultural engineering plant, the fowl rearing enterprise and 150 workers of the artistic handicraft enterprise have resumed work. In Librazhd District, two sectors of the iron-nickel mine who were on strike suspended it. Likewise, the resumption of work in two enterprises of Gjirokaster District who had suspended work was agreed. In Korce work has been resumed by the workers of workshop of the shoe factory which cooperates with a foreign firm. Work has not started in the line of the knit wear plant where work was organised in cooperation with [word indistinct]. The latter has begun to withdraw the machineries. Likewise, in Elbasan too, the collective of the oil and beverages enterprise has suspended the strike.

Government Appeals For 'Chance To Work'

AU2605201191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers, having examined once again at a special meeting the extremely serious economic situation, which has been particularly exacerbated by the recent strikes, and being aware of the danger of increased social tensions, considers it necessary to address the people. The government, which emerged from the first pluralist parliament only two weeks ago, is aware of the difficult situation. Even though it is not responsible for the accumulated problems of years, it has shouldered the heavy burden of stabilizing the country's social and economic situation and setting the country on a new road of development. It has clearly and unhesitatingly laid its program before the people. This program reflects the fundamental ideas of the programs of the country's parties and political forces. Under the difficult conditions in which it starts its work, the government frankly states its need to be given adequate time to realize its program. It was precisely for this reason that it appealed to the People's Assembly for a general accord to be established to avoid strikes until at least the end of this year. However, three days after the government won its vote of confidence, strikes paralyzed key sectors of the economy.

In such a situation, being aware of the consequences that a continuation of the strikes would entail, the government turned once again to the People's Assembly with the sole recommendation that it continue its dialogue with the trade unions.

In the days that followed, the government did everything within its power to provide a realistic solution to the problem of overcoming the crisis, while also appreciating the demands of the striking workers. It compiled a range of measures, guided by serious professional advice and a sense of responsibility for the country's destiny, over which it conducted frank discussions with representatives of the trade unions. The first and principal step in the government's program was the conclusion of a study for the reform of wages and prices. Its implementation constitutes the basic orientation of the entire reform for the transition from a centralized economy to a market economy. This study also provides reasonable solutions to the demands of working people as put forward by trade union groups, and defends consumers' interests while prices are liberalized, giving genuine opportunities

to enterprises, in cooperation with the trade unions, to solve working people's demands under the conditions of a market economy. With the same logic, the study also puts forward the most appropriate economic solutions that will serve the interests of the peasantry.

Even after the announcement of these measures, about which explanations were and will be made to the public, the strikes continued and the collapse was not halted. At present, about 140,000 working people are involved.

The government has been and remains ready to cooperate with the trade unions and has continued its dialogue with them. It has provided solutions to those problems that are within its competence, while the solution of others depends on the approval of new laws by the People's Assembly. It is now clear that certain levels in the Presidium of the Independent Trade Unions and the strike committees have moved beyond working people's fair economic demands and are using these demands for political purposes, to paralyze the state, and to create social tensions that lead to a destruction of the people's unity.

At a time when all political forces have publicly come out in favor of a reestablishment of order and the functioning of a law-governed state, the government is faced with many kinds of illegal behavior. Trade union leaders in some districts and sectors, in ways not in keeping with their status and in a speculative fashion, have usurped the functions belonging to the state administration. The bureaucracy created down the years has also favored this.

The government is obliged to combat corruption and bureaucracy with total determination and transparency. Special control commissions have been created for this purpose, whose composition will be announced to the people as soon as possible. The government reaffirms that, in its work and methods of communication with the people, it will retain nothing of the mistakes and defects of the past. Nor will it undertake the analyses that are a task for political parties and which are beyond the duties of the law-governed state that we want.

The government has two main axes for its work—the enforcement of its program and the law. It appeals to the people to assess its ability or inability not according to the political slogans of certain forces that accuse it of clumsiness and prejudice, but only on the basis of its enforcement of its program and the law. It asks workers and peasants and all citizens of Albania, regardless of their political convictions, to give it a genuine chance to work, and to judge whether the government has merited the people's trust solely on the basis of the results of this work. The government, determined to respect the oath it has sworn, will continue to implement its program and the laws of our democratic state, relying on the trust of the people.

In its work, the government is not guided by party or political prejudices. It has shown itself and will continue to show itself ready to cooperate with all political forces and the trade unions, ready to take into consideration constructive comments for political, economic, and organizational solutions to the problems of today and the future.

In its work, it places nothing above the interests of the people and the homeland. The Albanian people need calm and stability, especially in the context of current developments in our area and around us, where serious destabilizing factors are present and one of the most serious situations of crisis that our peninsula has ever experienced prevails. Otherwise, the destiny of the homeland will be in danger. The reestablishment of social calm and the resumption of work are now on the agenda more than ever. Everyone's contribution is necessary. Otherwise, seized by irresponsible passions and guided by empty promises, we risk heading for a catastrophe. Such steps as shutting oneself up on hunger strike in a mine do not serve those great and noble aims in which the entire people are interested, nor do they protect fundamental human rights and freedoms. The government therefore appeals to all working people to dissociate themselves from the empty promises and ultimatums and impossible demands of a few hotheads, who pretend to represent the legitimate interests of all working people. At this difficult time, the government openly, without illusions, and without political prejudice, has the duty to reiterate yet again the necessity to avoid unnecessary confrontations and social conflicts through peace, understanding, and work.

People of Albania, Albania is living through historic times fraught with major challenges and opportunities. It depends on the wisdom of all Albanians, relying on their culture and democratic national traditions, to accept the challenges of the times. The government has total faith that our people, who have survived for centuries, have the necessary strength and wisdom to embark on the road of normal life, democracy, and integration in Europe in dignity and civilization.

[signed] The Council of Ministers. Tirana, 26 May 1991.

Strike Situation Reported 27 May

AU2705142891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] We have noticed that the strikes in various parts of the country are continuing at high intensity in many enterprises and sectors. There is little change in the situation that we have reported in our news broadcasts. Those collectives on strike continue to insist on the total fulfillment of all the strikers' demands, as set out in their statements. We have also received a report on the course of the nationwide strike from the Council of Ministers' Press and Information Office, which states:

According to reports from the district executive committees, there are the following developments in the strike situation:

In Tirana, about 40 miners in the Valias mine are continuing their hunger strike. A rally of several hundred workers from Valias and some other mines was held at the mine today. The Strike Committee states that no more miners will go below ground. The forces of order have left the pitheads. After a medical examination, one striker suffering from bronchopneumonia was allowed to leave the gallery and was sent for hospital treatment at the request of a doctor who was present.

In Tirana, the city bus service on the Tractor Combine-Film Studio route resumed this morning.

In Lezhe, the workers of all enterprises involved in the strike turned up at their enterprises, but at many of these factories, such as the paper mill and the food enterprises, normal work was impossible because of a shortage of raw materials. Work could also not be resumed at the chemical works because of the nonarrival of supplies from the port.

In Vlore, workers of the bus fleet and at the light bulb factory have started work again. The number of strikers in this district has fallen from 7,000 to about 5,700.

In Pogradec, workers at the [word indistinct] mine and about 100 workers at the coal mine have ended their strike. Workers at Pogradec railroad station also started work again, with a few exceptions.

[signed] The Council of Ministers' Press and Information Office, 27 May 1991.

Trade Unions Report Strike 'At Same Intensity'

AU2705195491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] A communique of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BSPSh] states among other things that reports constantly reaching the Central Strike Committee show that the strike is continuing at the same intensity in all sectors and districts, as before. Many enterprises that were not affected before have sent in registration forms and other working collectives and institutions have been announcing strikes of different lengths as a sign of solidarity. The communique also states that members of the trade unions have been summoned to the bodies of justice in various districts. At the same time, the BSPSh has received greetings messages from the director of the Institute of Free American Trade Unions and the Hungarian League of Independent Trade Unions.

PPSh Condemns Valias Hunger Strike

AU2605211091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] Twenty-four hours have passed since a group of miners announced a hunger strike in the depths of Valias mine near Tirana. This step, taken at a time when the government is committed to finding the best economic paths for solving working people's demands within all the possibilities that exist, has further exacerbated the situation. This strike has nothing in the least to do with a loyal strike struggle. Its aim is to threaten general stability, to disorient the lawful institutions of the state, and to increase the already enormous difficulties in solving the crisis. Is this the proper way to have demands met? Is these the right moment for such a step, when the country is plunged into a deep crisis? Who would benefit from a worsening situation? Not the people. Not the workers class. Not the peasantry. Not the intellectuals. Therefore, whom does it serve, and who is inciting such behavior?

Assessing the situation that has arisen with the proper seriousness, the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Central Committee calls on the strikers, for the sake of the interests of the country, the people, and themselves, to judge wisely and to turn back from the road on which they have embarked. Let them be convinced that the hunger strike is not in their interests, and that nobody will trample on their economic demands, because nothing (?will take priority over) the demands they have presented.

The government, elected recently in a legitimate way, represents the will and trust of the people. Give it time and lend it the necessary support to perform its own legitimate duties. Such threats as hunger strikes, at the time and in the way they are conducted, have a political background. They threaten state institutions and the unity and security of society.

The PPSh, highly concerned at the course events have taken, issues a call to strikers, trade unions, and all political forces and parties to do everything to avoid devastating and terrible consequences. Nobody must be allowed to exploit the strike and the economic difficulties of workers and the whole country to attain political ends.

Let us set aside party ambitions, and put in first place the interests of the nation, the people, and the homeland.

Alia Receives Miners' Trade Unionists 25 May

AU2605150391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] The president of the Republic of Albania met this morning with a group of trade unionists from the Independent Federation of Miners, Geologists, and Mineral Processors from Kalimash, Bulqize, Memaliaj, Valias, Ternove, and so on. The miners expressed their grievances to the president and informed him about the demands they have submitted for improved wages and working conditions. During the talk, the trade unionists stated that their main demand addressed to the government is that the price and wage reform should preserve wage differentials between miners and workers in other professions. They stated that the government should act to unblock the situation. The trade unionists also pointed out that the ministries have not intervened promptly to fulfill certain utterly simple demands that require no examination, especially in working conditions. They stressed that their demands are purely economic, and that they favor cooperation with the government, but that the government should clearly define its commitment to the miners and should lay down a deadline

for the fulfillment of their demands. We cannot do anything without the government, and the government can do nothing without us. We want to return to our enterprises, confident that our problems will be solved.

Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his appreciation of the fact that virtually the entire workers class in the mining industry has chosen constructive discussion with the state authorities and pressure on the bureaucracy as the way of pressing their demands, while not stopping work. This is a mature and patriotic attitude. Talking about the miners' demands, the president stated that it is vital to preserve the differentials between the wages of miners and those of other working people. The decisions that will be made on the wage system will solve this issue by 1 July and will continue to give priority to the pay of miners above other categories of working people.

The strikes that have begun and have been continuing in many sectors for more than a month have caused great economic damage. They have now reached the point that the immediate interests of townspeople and villages are being affected. The paralysis of transportation has even endangered the food supplies to some remote regions, and their reserves are running out. There has been obstruction in other sectors such as the sanitary service that directly affects people's lives. As a result, as was reported in the Council of Ministers' communique, even infant mortality has begun to rise. The reports carried every day by the television and the many letters and telegrams that I have received personally show that a majority of workers want to return to work, without giving up the demands they have submitted. This desire of theirs should not be thwarted. The right to work is no less a democratic right than the right to strike.

It seems, the president continued, there are attempts to manipulate the workers' strike movement for political ends. This is very dangerous, because it could lead to the division of the people, setting worker against worker, something that nobody who wishes the homeland well can want. I therefore turn to the people and appeal to all workers to steer clear of speculation of this kind and to gather their strength and to work for their own good, turning their backs on anybody who is trying to inflame the situation, to foment quarrels and hatred, and to sow distrust in the state.

The president then spoke to the miners about the work and difficult tasks that the government is now facing. I, he said, value the government's serious commitment to solving the accumulated problems. In its work, the government has and will continue to have my support as president. Of course, Comrade Ramiz said, the results of the government's work would have been more effective if the administrative apparatus and the central and local organs had worked with the same willpower and concentration. They suffer from bureaucracy and old ways of thinking. However, we may hope that efforts by both sides, the government and the workers, will succeed in uprooting such phenomena.

In conclusion, the president spoke about the need to confront our difficulties by working together in a healthy spirit. We have had more difficult situations, he said, but we survived them without being brought to our knees, relying on each other. Our people know very well what we need at such a time—unity, confidence in the future, resolve, and determination to work.

The meeting took place at the president's office.

Democratic Party Expresses Support for Strikers

AU2605153091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] A statement by the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party stresses that workers have been aware of the difficulties through which the country is passing for 10 days. They submitted their moderate and just demands on time, but the government and the bureaucratic administration have been slow in considering and meeting these demands. Workers are furious that the government has shown no evidence of having the will and ability to surmount the serious social and economic crisis in which the country is plunged. The Democratic Party, the statement continues, supports the demands of the striking workers and protests the government's passive attitude. The Democratic Party protests the arbitrary suspension of the proceedings of the People's Assembly. Who else but the country's highest lawmaking body can solve Albania's serious woes and problems? In conclusion, the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party assures striking workers of the party's full solidarity.

Republican Party on 'Confusion' in Countryside

AU2605153391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] A statement by the Republican Party on the situation in the countryside stresses among other things that this party is following rural developments with particular concern. The government's decision of 21 April 1991 granting peasant families up to 0.4 hectares of land and the right to unrestricted numbers of livestock has created confusion in the countryside and uncertainty about the future. In many regions of the country, especially in hilly and mountainous areas with little land, the cooperatives are being dissolved. The majority of peasants have taken livestock and are demanding the restoration of their old land boundaries. Former owners of land are insisting on the modification, destruction, or abandonment of roads, dwelling houses, and other economic structures, seriously damaging each other's interests. This behavior has kindled enmity and misunderstanding and has led to quarrels and serious acts that threaten harmony in the villages and beyond.

Faced with such a situation, the statement continues, the Republican Party appeals to the government and the peasantry to recognize that nobody but the peasants can become the owners of their property. Peasants should be treated like other citizens, with a right to a wage increase

of 60 leks if the prices of daily consumer goods increase. The animals taken by the peasants should not be returned to the cooperatives. Let the peasants themselves correct any injustices that are observed. The Republican Party calls on the peasants to take good care of their livestock, and to condemn the mass slaughter of livestock that has been observed in some areas, caused by the fear of their confiscation. Let understanding, logic, and mutual respect prevail in the process of dissolving the cooperative system. Let us dissociate ourselves from measures of force and condemn them. We were divided by the class war for 46 years.

Islami Protests Allegations in Trade Union Paper

AU2705195791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 May 91

[Statement by People's Assembly President Kastriot Islami; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] A communique of the miners who have gone on hunger strike is published among the political demands raised by the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BSPSh] in the newspaper SINDIKALISTI of 27 May 1991. In connection with its malevolent spirit and aims, I wish to explain to all the honest Albanian public as follows:

1. The proceedings of the first session of the People's Assembly have not been suspended or prorogued. They are continuing in meetings of the permanent commissions to examine decrees, according to the agenda approved by the Assembly. The decision to proceed in this way was made by the Presidency of the People's Assembly and not by its president. The allegation of a surprising and arbitrary suspension of the Assembly's proceedings therefore does not hold water and is a slander.

2. The rally organized at the request of the people of the area of Mallakaster in support of the government and its program was addressed by the area's deputy [Islami]. The rally took place in accordance with all the regulations and was peaceful. No slogans encouraging national division or confrontations between Albanian brothers were shouted. However, at a time when the people are demanding that their government be supported, some trade union leaders have adopted anti-Albanian stands, accusing an entire people, such as that of Mallakaster, of organizing Enverist-Milosevicite counter-rallies. These and other lies trifle with the feelings of an entire people, who have been and remain patriotic, hard-working, and honest, and who correctly understand the serious political and economic situation. In such a way, these leaders incite divisions among regions and confrontation among the people, thus heading for a national catastrophe. I therefore call on these people not to appeal to [word indistinct] and to be careful, because statements such as those published in the newspaper SINDIKALISTI do not insult an individual but an entire people. They do not assist the normal work of the People's Assembly, the unity of the people, or a solution to the serious economic and political situation.

Kastriot Islami, president of the People's Assembly.

Tirana Police Protest Reports in Union Paper

AU2705195991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 May 91

[Statement by the Ministry of Public Order; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Tirana police protest the false reports directly attacking their work, published in the newspaper SINDIKALISTI on 27 May 1991. They deny that a number of policemen wanted to organize a demonstration in support of the general strike. The police have inquired about the facts from the newspaper SINDIKALISTI and the Managing Commission of the Independent Trade Unions. Mr. (Ali Duri) told them that the reports had been supplied over the telephone by an unidentified person.

As for the report that the police prevented a concert from being held in the Qemal Stafa National Stadium, the Union of Independent Trade Unions has provided a written reply that makes claims that do not hold water.

As for the reports that police and special units [sampistet] had sealed off the pitheads at Valias and were preventing miners from joining their comrades below ground, the truth is quite different. The mine management issued a request for help, emphasizing that there was a danger of collapse at the mine. Tirana's Fourth District then sent a number of policemen, and not special units, because the use of the police in such circumstances is as legal as it is humanitarian. The mine management later stated that there was no danger of an underground collapse. The police were then withdrawn. The Tirana police will file criminal charges against the authors of these groundless reports that misinform the public.

Council of Europe Delegation Visits Groups

AU2505165491 Tirana ATA in English 0806 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 25 (ATA)—On May 24, the delegation of the Council of Europe, led by the chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Sten Anderson, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden and the general secretary of the Council, Catherine Lalumiere, had special meetings with leaders and representatives of the political parties and organizations in Albania: At the apparatus of the Central Committee [CC] of the Party of

Labour [PL] with Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the CC of the PL, in the seat of the Democratic Party with Dr. Gramoz Pashko and Arveb Imami, members of the steering committee of this party, with the organization (?Omonia) with Panajot Barka and Dhori Qirjazi, with the Forum for the Defence of the Human Rights with Kujtim Cashku, Ylli Popa and Fatos Lubonja, where they were acquainted with the efforts on the road towards the process of democratization and with their programs. The delegation of the Council of Europe paid a visit also to the Tirana University, where it was received by the minister of education, Maqo Lakrori, the vice rector of the university Rolanda Dhimitri and by pedagogues and students. The minister of education made an expose on the development of our country's education in general and of the higher one in particular. He laid the stress on the process of democratization of the educational system. Whereas the vice-rector, after making an expose of the development of the university since its creation explained how the democratizing processes are reflected in various branches especially the economic and juridical ones. On their part Sten Anderson and Catherine Lalumiere assessed the work carried out for the democratization of the education process and laid the stress on the importance of this aspect in this context. Likewise, the delegation of the European Council paid visits to various clinics of the hospital No. 1 in Tirana.

Zhelev Addresses BSP Legislative Group

AU2705115391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 May 91 pp 1, 2

[DUMA report: "President Speaks About Simultaneous Elections at Meeting With the Legislative Group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] Under normal circumstances local elections should be held first. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], however, insists that legislative elections be held first. I myself am moving towards a compromise situation where legislative and local elections are held simultaneously, President Zhelev told a meeting of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Legislative Group on 21 May in the East Room of the Grand National Assembly building. My sense of justice dictates this, since I do not want to take sides, Zhelev explained.

It became obvious that the president had held consultations with representatives of the different political forces when he proposed that the legislature be dissolved by 30 June and that elections be held in September.

Political and social tension, however, is increasing. During [Princess] Maria-Louisa's visit yet another phenomenon manifested itself: Anticommunist feelings began to be identified with the monarchy, Zhelev said. In his opinion, monarchism will have a chance in Bulgaria only if the reform comes to a halt or if the country falls into a political crisis.

The BSP showed evidence of a desire to become a modern party. As for the state of the SDS and the processes taking place within it, Zhelev thought that the right wing had gained the upper hand, which could create certain difficulties. The walkout of several people's deputies from the Grand National Assembly and their going over to extra-legislative forms of political activity puts the very existence of the legislature into question. In the president's view, there must be a legislature, and before it dissolves itself it must pass a democratic constitution and the laws necessary for the economic reform.

Regardless of who the next president is, the presidential institution must be a little stronger because of the present internal and external realities. It must act as a guarantor for keeping civil peace and furthering the country's democratic development. Zhelev also supports direct election of the president by the people because other options lead to suspicions about the existence of deals between legislative groups.

Questions put to the president by the Socialist deputies fell into five categories: a general assessment of the political situation and its stabilizing and destabilizing factors; the role of the legislature in implementing the peaceful transition; guarantees for the country's national security; and the political calendar for the coming months. Yanaki Stoilov held to the theory that the premature dissolution of the legislature would drive the country from the economic and social crisis into a real catastrophe.

In Zhan Videnov's opinion, a compromise could be reached on the dates for the elections, but not on the order in which they would be held because this had already been voted on—first local elections, then legislative. He said that the way in which the provisional executive committees were working at present, their lack of legitimacy, and the superior attitude of the united opposition in them did not give any grounds for believing that the elections could be held peacefully and democratically.

'Radical' SDS Members Demand July Elections

AU2705190791 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—The radical opposition MP's who walked out of parliament on May 14 demanding new elections in July, have not changed their minds. They held a special session today.

They continue to defend the idea of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) being a national movement of millions of people. In a special declaration published today, the radicals declared themselves against all manifestations of partisanship and personal ambitions, describing them as "harmful and ridiculous."

But the influential parties within the SDS—the Social Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party—as well as the Green Party and the Ecoglasnost Movement continue to oppose the idea of the SDS being a national movement and insist on quotas and preferential lists in the new elections.

In a declaration, adopted today, the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party states that if parliament fails to pass the new constitution of Bulgaria by June 30, 1991 its MP's will also walk out.

If we are to judge by today's declaration of the radicals they are against the nomination of the candidates in the new elections as representatives of parties and not of the SDS. And this is what the moderate members of the SDS-Centre want.

The moderate and the radical members of the SDS are still arguing over the decisions of the national conference of the opposition. The conference adopted a resolution which called on the opposition MP's to insist on the self-dissolution of parliament and on elections in July. But the moderate MP's of the parliamentary union of the SDS did not accept this resolution. The resolutions of the conference are not binding, they argued.

Today the leaders of the parties and organizations within the SDS held a closed session. No general agreement was reached. According to well-informed sources quite a few meetings and consultations were held last weekend in the SDS. Today the SDS leader Mr. Filip Dimitrov told journalists that the opposition MP's are seeking a uniform formula for their course in parliament. It is difficult to say whether the moderate and the radical MP's of the SDS will reach an agreement.

Tomorrow's session of the SDS Coordinating Council is expected to adopt important decisions.

SDS Leader Dimitrov on Election Date Issue

AU2705113091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Unless the issue of political power is clear, it is impossible to achieve a true change in the country. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], stated this at today's news conference in Sofia. He added that to carry out the reform and get Bulgaria back on its feet, the SDS must hold political power.

The SDS will insist on immediate clarification of the date of the elections, he said, but the winning of political power must be achieved in a civilized and lawful way through elections.

Asked how the date of the elections will be clarified and whether the SDS will rely solely on its legislative members, Dimitrov replied that the position would be cleared up within the SDS.

Assembly Chairman: September Election Likely

AU2705100491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] What will be the legislature's priorities during June? At the moment, the full membership of the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly is offering forecasts on this at a news conference in the legislature.

Grand National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov recalled when the constitution bill was introduced in the legislature, it was planned that the bill would be adopted at the end of June or beginning of July. Following this, the legislature would naturally dissolve itself and preparations would start on holding new elections. I now see a real possibility of holding the elections in September, Todorov said. The Grand National Assembly chairman stated that the Council of Ministers had put in a strong request for preparation of a package of laws, and apart from this it was necessary to draft the laws for the elections and for choosing the president. Todorov predicted that it is very likely that the constitution bill will be passed on its first reading this week.

After Todorov, Ginyo Ganev and Ivan Glushkov, deputy chairmen of the Grand National Assembly, also spoke.

Ludzhev Views SDS Structure

AU2705232891 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 May 91 p 1

[Interview with Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Silvia Stefanova; place and date not given—"The Legitimate Self-Dissolution of the Legislature Will Not Stop The Reform"—first four paragraphs are DEMOKRATSIYA introduction]

[Text] The optimists among us will definitely say that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] conference found a compromise solution that marked a new start to the coalition's existence and brought forward the date of the legisltive elections without harming the government's legitimacy or the economic reform.

For the pessimists among us, this solution will definitely mean a legislative and (government) crisis...or a future split in the SDS.

What does Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers think about this?

Here are extracts from an interview between him and a DEMOKRATSIYA reporter at the time of the SDS National Conference.

[Stefanova] Mr. Ludzhev, Filip Dimitrov stated that a year ago the union was "wishful thinking," and now it is the first political force in the land. Why do the people who created it not have the right to make binding decisions? They are elected to the coordinating councils by the individual parties and movements, and in this sense are legitimate.

[Ludzhev] After the elections in June, I was among those who recommended that in addition to being a coalition, the SDS also develop a structure as a movenment, in other words, to have an SDS movement.

[Stefanova] Perhaps that is exactly what is happening now.

[Ludzhev] I agree with the point of view that says that in their present forms, the National Coordinating Council and the SDS Organization cannot act effectively. Therefore, we really must find a way of representing the SDS's character, through something like a nationwide movement. At the same time there is the problem of the parties' wish. The SDS is a coalition. If we make any decisions at the moment that are not in keeping with the tactics of any of the union's organizations, then a split will occur.

[Stefanova] Will any of them dare to break away from the SDS?

[Ludzhev] We must not to let it happen. Our main task still lies ahead. That is to help dislodge the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] from power through democratic elections. We must find a compromise between the party framework and the interests of the SDS movement.

[Stefanova] At the moment there appears to be a difference of opinion between the decisions made by the SDS leadership and their membership. Perhaps it is time for the leadership of some of the SDS parties to listen to the people, to the so-called street, where they came from, prior to being elected.

[Ludzhev] In my opinion, the problem can only be solved by creating frameworks that really represent the opinion of our voters. The coordinating councils are elected from the union's parties and organizations, but a huge number of our electorate are not aligned to a party. The decision is a

difficult one because the leaderships of some of the parties are not willing to change the SDS statute. At the same time the representatives of the parties on the coordinating councils want exactly this. It is obviously vital that we decide what the SDS will be in the future.

[Stefanova] Whose side are you on as an individual, and not as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers?

[Ludzhev] I am for people being able to democratically express their wishes through a supreme SDS forum that also represents the views of our non-party sympathizers.

[Stefanova] Does that mean that this conference's decision is not sufficiently convincing for you?

[Ludzhev] Unfortunately, at the moment, it cannot be formulated in the name of all the SDS's electorate.

[Stefanova] Nevertheless, when will legislative elections occur?

[Ludzhev] I think the time has arrived to have new elections to show that Bulgaria is really ready for democracy. The new legislative elections will legitimize the real situation that now exists in the country, namely that the majority of Bulgarian people do not support the BSP/BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. In addition, we are entering such a stage of the reform—a real change in property relations—where we really need more clearly expressed political support, and legislative orientation toward accelerating the change in the system. The crux of the problem is that we need legislative elections to sort out two things. Firstly, to safeguard those minimum prerequisites of legislative institutions that guarantee the legitimacy of the government and the continuation of the reform. Otherwise, the country will literally collapse within a few months without the help of international financial organizations. And secondly, we should not only conduct elections, but also win them in a sufficiently convincing manner.

[Stefanova] Do you think that a legitimate self-dissolution of the legislature on the initiative of the SDS's people's representatives, with the sole aim of having an exact date for the elections fixed, would be a catastrophe for the government?

[Ludzhev] I agree that the SDS legislative group should fight for a legitimate act fixing the date for the self-dissolution of the Grand National Assembly. This act would allow the legislature to carry on its work until the elections, and let the government reach the necessary agreements with the International Monetary Fund, with the Group of 24, and with the World Bank. The legitimate self-dissolution of the legislature will open the road to new elections and allow the reform to radically take its course without destabilizing the country.

SDS Expert on Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty

AU2405170291 Sofia BTA in English 1529 GMT 24 May 91

[From BTA review of Sofia Press on 24 May]

[Text] Under the headline "Contract Behind People's Back," "DEMOKRATSIYA" publishes an extensive interview with Mr. Vladimir Filipov, a foreign policy adviser with the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Mr. Filipov elaborates on the Bulgarian and Soviets drafts of the new bilateral treaty. According to Mr. Filipov, the treaty has "the character of an alliance." Those who have worked out the treaty continue to regard the relations with the USSR as the priority of Bulgaria's foreign policy. Mr. Filipov says that what puzzles him most are the military-political clauses of the drafts. "Although placed in the end, they are obviously meant to be the core of the future treaty," Mr. Filipov says. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have drafted a long-term treaty, an alarming fact, having in mind that "the situation in both countries is still unclear."

Files on Assassination Attempt on Pope Released

AU2805091491 Sofia BTA in English 1952 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—Prof. Alan Weinstein of the U.S., who chairs an independent international commission of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II ten years ago, was given access to the Bulgarian archives on the case today.

Mr. Weinstein told a news conference that he saw the 127 volumes, each of 200 to 250 pages, recording Bulgaria's investigation into the papal shooting. Another representative of the commission is also expected in Bulgaria. According to Prof. Weinstein, the purpose of the commission is to conduct a historical rather than a legal investigation. The idea is to reconstruct as fully as possible the picture of that historical event out of the facts of the case rather than to prove or to disprove any "Bulgarian connection" to the assassination attempt.

"It is very important for Bulgaria not to have its name tainted by this crime," said Bulgarian Minister of Internal Affairs Mr. Khristo Danov. "But if this country is implicated in any way whatsoever, it should be borne in mind that the crime was committed by a whole system which we reject and are trying to eliminate," the minister specified. The Bulgarian officials at the news conference reiterated that President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who initiated the idea for the disclosure of the truth about the shooting, is ready to give the inquiry his entire political support. He believes that the establishment of the truth should be addressed without prejudice and that Bulgaria is the most interested country to have it disclosed.

Dlouhy: No Agreement in USSR Troop Talks

LD2405231691 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told journalists here today that Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on settling financial and property issues of the 22-year presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory did not end with any agreement. Although a draft agreement, submitted by Soviet External Economic Relations Minister Konstantin Katushev, is a certain step forward, it is not acceptable. There are differences in estimates of individual damage and claims. "There will be another round of talks", Dlouhy said. In his opinion, Czechoslovakia cannot give up its basic demand, i.e. compensation for all the damage caused by Soviet troops during their stay in Czechoslovakia. Originally, the Soviets wanted to use the money, which Soviet property in Czechoslovakia is worth, to cover the purchase of prefabricated houses. Now, the Soviet side proposes to use one third on the compensation for damage, one third on the purchase of houses and goods for soldiers and their families leaving Czechoslovakia, and the last third on investing in joint ventures, Dlouhy said. Referring to his talks with the Soviet delegation, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Wagner told journalists today disputes persist between these two countries over Czechoslovakia's financial claims. A final sum that can be obtained by the sale of Soviet property in Czechoslovakia cannot be determined as the sale will be regulated by market mechanisms, Wagner said. Besides, buildings which the Soviets constructed themselves do not correspond with Czechoslovak norms, he added. The Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on settling financial and property issues started in Prague on May 20.

Economic Collapse, Clash of Havel, Klaus Denied

AU2705130591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May p 2

["DAM" report: "Dlouhy's Reservations Against the CIA Report"]

[Text] Prague—Last Sunday [19 May], in the television program "Echoes of the Week," CSFR Economy Minister V. Dlouhy expressed his reservations against the conclusions drawn by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) regarding an alleged clash between the CSFR president and the reform wing led by Minister Klaus referred to in the Agency report on East European reforms.

He asserted that "this controversy is not and has never been very deep" and "a great fusion of opinions occurred." Commenting on the authors of the report, he added that it seems they visited Czechoslovakia about half a year ago. Let us take this news from abroad with a grain of salt, the minister said.

In addition, V. Dlouhy rejected the claim by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia that only two months remain until the economy collapses. According to him, the annual inflation will exceed the expected 30 percent. The decline in industrial production compared with April of last year is approximately 20 percent.

Austria's Vranitzky Arrives on One-Day Visit

LD2705081591 Prague CTK in English 0631 GMT 27 May 91

[Excerpt] Prague May 27 (CTK)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived here today for a one-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa.

Vranitzky, who will visit Prague and Bratislava, will have a tete-a-tete discussion with Calfa and exchange notes with Czechoslovak representatives on issues concerning nuclear safety and protection against radiation. A joint statement on the opening of an Austrian grammar school in Prague will also be signed during the visit. Before leaving for Bratislava Vranitzky will meet new Prague Archbishop Miloslav Vlk, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament) Zdenek Jicinsky, Czech Premier Petr Pithart and Chairwoman of the Czech National Council (parliament) Dagmar Buresova.

During his stay in Bratislava Vranitzky will meet Chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament) Frantisek Miklosko and Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky. He will return home late tonight. [passage omitted]

Pithart Assures Vranitzky on Nuclear Plant

LD2705172691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart met in Prague today Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. He assured the guest that the nuclear power plant in Temelin will not be built according to original plans and, in addition, it will be protected by state-of-the-art safety equipment. Franz Vranitzky was also interested in current relations between Czechs and Slovaks. He resolutely rejected comparing Czechoslovakia's nationalities situation to that in Yugoslavia. Petr Pithart also noted that Austria is now interested in joining the European Communities and when it succeeds in this, Czechoslovakia will ask Austria to pass on its experience. Discussing the expansion of tourism between Czechoslovakia and Austria, the two prime ministers noted that as a result of establishment of Sumava national park, the pace of building new border crossings has slowed down a little.

Economic Issues Aired

LD2705173391 Prague CTK in English 1456 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Prague May 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek and Austrian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Karl Peterlik today signed a note on improving the flow of information between the two countries in case of incidents in nuclear power plants.

The note, which specifies one article of a Czechoslovak-Austrian agreement on nuclear safety and protection against radiation, was signed in the presence of Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Calfa, Vranitzky and Prague Mayor Jaroslav Koran signed a statement on the intention to open an Austrian grammar school in Prague, with German and Czech as the languages of instruction.

"I do not want our talks to be considered exclusively 'nuclear'", Vranitzky said during a meeting between the Czechoslovak and Austrian delegations today, according to Czechoslovak Government spokesman Martin Kopecky.

Vranitzky agreed to Calfa's proposal that questions of nuclear safety be transferred from the bilateral level to the Pentagonal group (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia), Kopecky said.

Calfa provided detailed information on steps being taken at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear plant near the Austrian border. (Austria has repeatedly demanded its shut-down.) The plant will be closed for a thorough inspection in 1993 and a final decision on how long it will remain in operation will not be taken until then. In any case, it will operate at least until 1995, Calfa said.

He spoke about the Gabcikovo water works on the Danube, originally a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian project now half completed, which could substitute for electric power produced at Jaslovske Bohunice. Calfa mentioned the importance of the project for Danube navigation and spoke about its environmental aspects. He noted that Hungary was not fulfilling its contractual obligations. (Hungary unilaterally withdrew from the project, which Czechoslovakia says will cause less environmental damage if completed in some form than if left as it is.)

Calfa said that Czechoslovakia would welcome a treaty with Austria similar to that being prepared with Germany.

He criticised Austrian customs barriers and called for quicker progress in linking the Czechoslovak and Austrian road and rail networks. Vranitzky said the Austrian Government has earmarked 4,500 million schillings for the linking of the motorway networks and promised changes in the customs regulations.

Calfa asked for new legal regulations on the employment of Czechoslovak citizens in Austria.

Calfa described the development of cooperation of Czechoslovakia's two constituent republics with Austrian provinces as very important and Vranitzky supported the idea.

Calfa added that Austrian enterprises are not making use of all the opportunities provided for economic cooperation by the Austrian Government. He said the dissolution of the COMECON trading bloc is broadening the scope for economic contacts between Czechoslovakia and the developed states.

Calfa, Vranitzky Discuss Yugoslavia

LD2705222591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 27 May 91

[Olga Jerabkova report on Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's visit to Prague and Bratislava]

[Text] [Jerabkova] At 1100 this morning Federal Chancellor Vranitzky, Federal Government Prime Minister Marian Calfa, and Prague Mayor Jaroslav Koran signed a joint declaration on the intention to open an Austrian grammar school in Prague. Other confirmed documents were verbal notes on the explanation of paragraph two of the agreement between both countries on adjusting points concerning nuclear safety and protection against radiation. The ambassadors of both countries, Magda Vasaryova and Dr. Karl Peterlik were present at the ceremony. At a briefing which followed Prime Minister Marian Calfa said the following on the course of talks:

[Begin Calfa recording in Slovak] Our talks were exceptionally friendly, open, and businesslike, just as we expected them to be and as relations should be between neighbors such as Czechoslovakia and Austria, which are going to cooperate. In our talks we really covered the whole scale of mutual relations. We began an evaluation of our agreements which we have in all areas. We continued through to the understandable problem of nuclear energy, through to the possibility of our enterprises cooperating in the area of technology in coal power stations. We also mentioned the possibility of cooperation in other areas. I noted that in our view Austrian enterprises are making insufficient use of the possibilities which the Austrian Government has made available for business on our territory, by which I meant various funds. We also spoke about setting up an Austrian grammar school in the near future in Prague, and on setting up an Austrian House, as a kind of center of Austrian economy and Austrian culture in Prague.

Secondly we evaluated developments in Central Europe, and in Yugoslavia. Austria has a border with Yugoslavia and this is why we were particularly interested in Austria's view. I can describe all our talks as truly successful. These are talks which have once again taken our mutual relations a considerable step further. We pledge to continue cooperation. We will cooperate within the framework of the Pentagonal and perhaps the future Hexagonal. A large number of projects are being developed. In our view, cooperation is good and dyanmic and there are no fundamental conflicts. [end recording]

[Jerabkova] Federal Chancellor Vranitzky summarized the Austrian view as follows:

[Begin Vranitzky recording in German with superimposed Czech translation] Today's visit is a significant part of the development of values and basically very good and intensive mutual relations. Today we have done a great deal of work to benefit the future development of culture, the energy industry, education, social care, and transport, where we are following a number of joint goals. I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that if present developments continue, the mutual relationship between Czechoslovakia and Austria can become an example in Central Europe. [end recording]

Vranitzky Briefs Journalists

LD2705223891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 27 May 91

[Olga Jerabkova report on Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's visit to Prague and Bratislava]

[Text] [Jerabkova] There is no doubt that the main item on the agenda of today's working visit by the Federal chancellor to Czechoslovakia is the issue of nuclear power engineering. One of the documents signed concerned precisely this issue. Therefore Chancellor Vranitzky paid maximum attention to it in his address to Prague journalists.

[Begin Vranitzky recording in German with superimposed Czech translation] This official visit to Prague is a further step in the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria. These relations are not only good, they are really versatile. They exist practically in all areas of our life, from culture and educational systems to industrial cooperation and regional cooperation in power engineering.

Today, we have, in my opinion, made another important step. We have signed, among other things, an agreement on early warning systems in connection with nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia. We have further agreed that our mutual cooperation will stand, so to speak, on three firm legs. The first one should be substantially developed industrial cooperation between the two countries. Furthermore, it is first of all necessary to improve and take appropriate ecological measures in Czechoslovak coal-burning power plants. In this case it is also necessary first to take security measures—81 in all—in the nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice. The Czechoslovak side has accepted this and we have agreed that in view of its energy policy it will again examine the proposed Austrian study materials.

We discussed again the Austrian offer for alternative solutions from January this year. This offer is still open. It concerns Austria's aid in seeking alternative resources of energy, in particular water ones. Third, we discussed possibilities for better exploitation of water resources, not only in both our countries but in the all-European context. The latest decision of the Austrian side to build a hydroelectric power plant on the Danube in (Freudenau) fits into this concept just as well as the Gabcikovo water project. [end recording]

[Jerabkova] Chancellor Vranitzky also provided information about the intentions to extend and interlink the Czechoslovak and Austrian rail networks and to improve the system of customs procedures at border crossings. He stressed political cooperation as well. Czechoslovakia intends to support Austria's candidacy for chairmanship of the UNESCO Executive Committee. These, added the chancellor at the end, are at least a few items on our packed agenda.

I can only add that this was just half of the agenda of the Czechoslovak-Austrian talks. The second part is at this moment under way in Bratislava.

Vranitsky, Miklosko Discuss Ties

LD2805110691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, during today's meeting with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in Bratislava, thanked him for the help and sympathy with which Austria contributed to the victory of democracy in Czechoslovakia, in particular over the last 20 years.

Franz Vranitzky emphasized that everything that Austria has done in its relations with Czechoslovakia and Slovakia was done because its inhabitants considered it right. This is, therefore, no debt, but the foundations of new cooperation for which other possibilities should be sought. During the meeting there was also talk about the ambitions of the Austrian republic and Czechoslovakia for entry or perhaps association with the European Community and about the usefulness of an exchange of experience and cooperation between both countries along this path.

Frantisek Miklosko and Franz Vranitzky also exchanged views about solving the problem of minorities and about developments in Yugoslavia.

The Austrian Federal chancellor then met with Jan Carnogursky, prime minister of the Slovak government. They spoke about further development of relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia, in particular Slovakia.

Soviets Said To Stall Troop Withdrawal Talks

AU2705211891 Paris AFP in English 1748 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 27 (AFP) — The Soviet Union has refused to withdraw its troops from Poland before the end of 1993, causing a deadlock in talks with the Polish Government which wants them to leave this year, according to a newspaper report Monday [27 May].

Talks in Moscow two weeks ago ended in an impasse after the Soviet Union declined to discuss either the withdrawal timetable for its 50,000 troops or its debt to Warsaw, estimated at three billion rubles (five billion dollars) by the Polish Government, the daily EXPRESS WIECZORNY said, quoting well-informed sources.

Soviet negotiators also would not discuss Polish requests for spare parts for their Soviet-equipped military.

A fresh round of talks—the eighth to date—are to be held in Warsaw in mid-June.

Following Moscow's refusal to agree to the Polish deadline for withdrawal, Warsaw has refused to authorize Red Army forces withdrawing from Germany to cross its territory on their way to the Soviet Union.

Foreign Minister on Treaties With EC, USSR

LD2605003891 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—"If the treaty on association does not give good economic results, it will not realise its political aim," said Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski during a break in today's special session of the Council of Ministers.

Skubiszewski said that the aim of the treaty was political—to link Poland with the most industrially-developed countries of Western Europe, as a contribution to building European unity. He added that, although the draft treaty is dominated by economic questions, they are inseparable from the declared political aims.

Skubiszewski expressed his belief that the negotiations would be completed by the end of June, and that the treaty would come into effect from the beginning of 1992. He noted that negotiators on the EC side had very clear confidence in Poland's economic reforms.

Skubiszewski also commented on the draft treaty on Polish-Soviet relations, and said that cooperation in security matters was the most significant element in the treaty. He believed that the issue of joint security would take up a large part of the negotiations between the parties.

Ministers Discuss Integration With EC

LD2605005691 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—At a special session today, the Council of Ministers considered the conditions of Polish integration with the European Communities. The ministers discussed the draft of the treaty which is to govern Poland's associate status with the EC.

Following four negotiating sessions, Poland and the EC have reached agreement on about half of the draft treaty. The most important areas of agreement are:

—A specific reference in the preamble to Poland's intention to join the EC;

—Political dialogue on further integration and on security and stability in Europe. The treaty identifies various levels of consultation, and establishes a council of association for ministerial contacts;

—Economic cooperation to strengthen the Polish economy and to build mutual economic ties. Polish businesses will be allowed access to the post-1992 single European market, and to the joint EC-EFTA European economic space;

—The prioritisation of 19 specific spheres for cooperation in transforming the Polish economy, and adapting it to EC standards and regulations;

—The encouragement of free capital flows, by adapting Polish financial and other regulations to EC standards.

There are differences of attitude principally in trade negotiations. The Polish side is seeking a rapid and radical liberalisation of access to European markets, particularly in sectors currently protected by EC regulations—textiles, steel and coal, agricultural products. The Polish negotiators view the recent EC proposal for a 10-year free trade zone as an effort to meet Poland's postulates.

The declared aim on both sides is for agreement to be reached by the second half of this year, with the treaty taking effect from the beginning of 1992. To this end, the Council of Ministers has established an inter-ministerial team under the chairmanship of Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, to prepare a draft declaration from the Polish side ahead of the next round of negotiations in June.

Ministers Defend Economic Program in Sejm

LD2605003191 Warsaw PAP in English 1834 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—After a three-day debate on the current economic situation, in which over 80 deputies took part, Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz told the Polish Sejm (lower house) today that the government's assessment does not differ much from the deputies' opinions. Both the Sejm and the government strive for a more efficient, market-oriented economy regulated by economic mechanisms.

A clear consensus can be noted that a fundamental stress should be put on transformations in the economic structures, Balcerowicz observed.

He discussed some aspects of the government's agricultural policy which is aimed at modernisation of farms

and creation of new jobs in the countryside. To achieve this goal extra money is needed. As the budget means are limited the government conducts negotiations which may bring some 0.5 billion dollars of foreign credits for Polish farms in near future.

Answering deputies' charges Balcerowicz explained that following the transition to convertible currencies all countries of the former socialist bloc face similar difficulties in trade with the Soviet Union. It is not the Polish Government to be blamed for the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union, he said.

We are no longer threatened with a deepening budget deficit or a collapse of the budget, Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Misiag told the house. On the contrary, the budget deficit of May 22 amounted to 6.4 trillion zlotys, while last April it was 8.5 trillion zlotys.

Yet he admitted that the situation is hard, social needs enormous and the government cannot satisfy all of them. He called for a better control of expenditures and rational use of budget means.

Deputy Minister of Agriculture Slawomir Gburczyk said his ministry plans to help modernize individual farms by means of easier credits from the budget and the World Bank. In the nearest future World Bank credits will be earmarked for rural cooperatives.

Prime Minister on Social Initiatives Movement

LD2605005191 Warsaw PAP in English 1901 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said today that economic and political transformations in Poland would lead to a decentralization of all processes in the country and in result of this power will be transfered to society. "We shall consistently strive to this end in our activities," he said at a meeting with participants in the social movement of economic initiatives called "Spring 92" here today.

The movement was initiated in 1990 by a group of deputies and senators who prepared bills on privatization and found it necessary to create a strong lobby in support of the economic transformations in the country. In their opinion 1992 will mark a breakthrough in this domain. That is why they call their movement "Spring 92."

At the meeting today, attended also by Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, Industry Minister Andrzej Zawislak and Minister for Ownership Changes Janusz Lewandowski, those gathered discussed the possibilities of accelerating and streamlining the economic transformations. This would help identify and eliminate major threats and conflicts that hamper the process of changes.

Local "Spring 92" centres are planned to be set up in every province, to group local managers and politicians who would create climate favouring economic revolution in the country and stimulate local initiatives.

Senate Approves Election Rules

LD2405195291 Warsaw PAP in English 2249 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—The Senate or higher chamber of Polish parliament today approved election rules for parliamentary elections with a narrow majority of three votes to prevent a legislative stalemate which would bar parliamentary elections scheduled for next fall. As a result, the controversial Sejm provision banning election campaigning in churches has been upheld, while the road has opened for a presidential go-ahead in election procedure. Thirty-seven senators voted for, 34 against, and two abstained.

A Senate committee today declared that the way the lower chamber of Polish parliament had handled the Senate initiative on the protection of unborn child is inadmissible in terms of parliamentary law, and threatened with a possible referral to the constitutional tribunal for a verdict.

Though the Sejm rejected a Senate proposal to remove from the law on collective disputes the provisions relating to farmers protest, the Senate today considered another initiative on the issue under which the farmers right to protest should be included in the prospective law on farmers organizations.

The Senate meeting today was held for first time in a new hall fitted with bullet-proof windows and Philips computers to do the counting of votes.

Senate Adopts Draft Constitution

LD2505013791 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—The Senate, or the higher chamber of Polish parliament, on the second day of its meeting here today crowned one and a half years of its work on a draft Polish consitution by adopting the draft.

The bill will next be filed with the Sejm, or the lower chamber, to be elected in the first free parliamentary elections in Poland next fall.

The senator rapporteur said she hopes the draft will provide a starting point for a nationwide debate on Poland's new main law. Also today the Senate approved Walerian Panko as president of Poland's Supreme Board of Control NIK.

The draft constitution draws on previous Polish constitutions: namely those of 1791, 1921 and 1935. The opening phrase in the draft, saying "in the name of God Almighty" has been adopted from the Constitution of 1921.

The draft is based on a triple division of power into legislative, executive and judicial. Local self-government has also been taken into account as the fourth entity now being formed. The state-church relations are based on autonomy and independence, though the draft does not lay down the principle of separation of the two.

The Senate also ended the 10-month controversy over the post of NIK president by approving Walerian Panko with 67 votes for, two against, and five abstentions. Panko told the Senate that corruption is on the rise in Poland and that is why privatisation, demonopolisation of economic relations with foreign countries, state administration and self-government reform alongside restructuring of Poland's finance system are going to receive special attention from his NIK chamber.

The Centre Alliance (PC) parliamentary circle presented its formal criticism of what they termed as mounting attack by leftist media on the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. PC MPs say this threatens the Polish raison d'etat as the Roman Catholic Church is the sole institution capable of providing a mainstay for the Polish people at the moment.

The Senate also passed a resolution which urged the formation of a power economy agency to work out a package on transformations within this country's power and fuels sector. Also, the senators said 30 percent of the Polish territory embracing national parks and woodland should be legally protected in environmental terms.

Police Stage Nationwide Warning Strike

LD2505012991 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Policemen all over Poland today staged a warning strike in a move to make known their poor financial situation, and to caution against too many experienced and skillful officers leaving their jobs when new retirement regulations come into force.

Polish policemen, however, were performing their regular duties having only flagged police cars and police stations. Wearing red-and-white arm-bands, they were distributing the text of a message issued by the national executive commission of the policemen trade unions presenting their points.

Meanwhile, the Solidarity chapter of the "Star" joint stock company in Starachowice, Kielce Province, central Poland, decided to suspend a sit-in strike today after reaching an agreement with Warsaw officials on the necessary changes in the factory and on pay rises for its employees.

In Stawowiczki, Piotrkow Trybunalski Province, central Poland, a Swiss owner of the "Rowak" firm paid back wages to the employees of the sewing department who, as a result, ended their two-week strike over pay and personnel policy of the company.

In reply to an announcement by the Solidarity chapter of the railway repair enterprise on the beginning of a hunger strike by railwaymen in Wroclaw on May 27, the management of the state railways PKP called those threats "moves against the economic reforms in the country" and said PKP must undergo restructuring according to the new market rules.

Gas, Electricity Prices Increased 27 May

LD2705203191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Today the price of gas goes up by 140 percent and the price of electricity goes up by 110 percent. The price of electricity for industrial consumers is also going up by 25 percent. The Ministry of Industry justifies the present increase by the need to meet costs borne by the gas and electricity enterprises. After the introduction at the beginning of this year of hard currency settlement by the Soviet Union for its foreign trade, we have had to pay world prices for Soviet gas, which are five times higher than those paid up to the end of last year.

The ministry also let it be known that the increase in the price of electricity has been linked with the increased cost of its production arising from the higher price of coal. For people in a difficult financial situation, special benefit will be provided.

Walesa To Emphasize Domestic Affairs

LD2705215891 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—President Lech Walesa promised today greater involvement in the country's internal affairs, and added he and the government would help local governments overcome every barrier in their work.

At a meeting with representatives of local governments, Lech Walesa said he had done enough as concerns Poland's foreign policy. "Now, I will engage myself in the internal affairs," he promised and expressed the will to meet with local bodies more frequently.

The meeting discussed the to-date performance of the bodies since the first free elections to local councils twelve months ago.

Asked to comment on the president's promise of greater involvement in Poland's internal affairs, his spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said:

"At present, we know exactly what the state of the country is like. We know what can be done and in which fields. There is no danger that through his work the president could somehow destabilize the government. On the contrary, he does his best to support it. Therefore, after a round of foreign visits, the president is considering to start another round of meetings at home."

According to Drzycimski this will take place after the pope's visit to Poland.

Prime Minister Roman on Economic Reform Program

AU2705084391 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 15 May 91 pp 1, 2

["Excerpts" of interview with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman on Romanian TV, by unidentified moderator; in Bucharest on 10 May: "Our Program Is Ever More Credible"]

[Text] **Inter-Enterprise Debts Led to Blockage of the Financial and Productive Chain**

[Roman] Generally speaking, the enterprises that are doing something are those that have markets, enterprises with products in the final stages of the manufacturing chain, that is enterprises whose products are on their way to the markets. Unfortunately, the situation is not very good when it comes to enterprises producing semi-finished and semi-processed items, since they suffer, sometimes quite harshly, from a lack of hard currency and raw materials, two correlated deficiencies. There are also several accumulated blockages, deriving from the situation inherited in December 1989. To ease and unravel the situation, we examined many solutions leading to a way out of the crisis, a certain balance, and some coherent reform signal; in other words, something that should not amount to yet another subsidy, as we want to rid ourselves of such instruments, as a matter of principle.

[Moderator] Mr. Prime Minister, because you were talking about this chain blockage, do you think that the blame should be put only on people, that is only on the leaders of economic units?

[Roman] No. I was talking about an accumulated blockage deriving from the accumulation of a large number of inter-enterprise credit claims, in other words, accumulated debts that have grown over the years and have led to this situation that often blocks all movement. What really happens? Well, in this productive chain, it is very difficult to identify from the start the actual enterprise that spoils the health of the chain—that is, to identify the enterprise that does not produce, but rather consumes, without producing or adding anything to the value, while actually deducting from the respective value. This is maybe the most sensitive problem. To keep pumping funds into this production cycle, without knowing where the leaks are, is totally unproductive. Picture yourself a pipe with holes, in which you pump in at one end: what do you think you will get out at the other end? Anyway, not more than you pumped in, probably less. This is the core of the matter: we worked out a deblockage mechanism—this was recently done by the governmental factors directly involved, such as the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Trade, the National Bank, other banks, and so forth. This formula should yield results; however, it can be also corrected at a later date, if results are not satisfactory. What is certain is that, as far as we are concerned, having taken into consideration this state of blockage, we decided to somehow help those enterprises which, from an objective viewpoint, could work and even do work better, but still fail to capitalize on their better situation.

[Moderator] Because we are talking about blockage, my impression is that many economic agents are blocking themselves when the linkage in the supply-production-sales chain does not function.

[Roman] You see, this chain has also stopped being what it once was. Each enterprise is a free economic agent. This is certain. As I told you, many realized that this freedom also implies responsibility toward the destiny of the respective enterprise.

Enterprises With Valuable Assets Can Relaunch Themselves Spectacularly Only Through Restructuring the Technological Base

[Moderator] This also tells an enterprise director what he should do.

[Roman] Many know exactly what they have to do, since they realize that, quite often, they do not even need us, the government. Some directors say that "the best situation is when we do not need you and you do not need us."

[Moderator] Some also say: I do not have raw materials, hence I cannot produce.

[Roman] This is the situation that can actually occur in the basic production, that is the production we start from, since this is the industrial structure we have. The multiple economic agents are still too dependent on past structures. In spite of all this, even in the basic industry certain things could still be done much better. Here, I can also give a very interesting example: a large enterprise in the sphere of chemistry (this applies to all chemistry sectors as well as to other basic sectors, such as metallurgy, for instance), that is a big trade company, for which two big foreign firms produced a technological restructuring study at their own expense. This Romanian chemical enterprise is currently operating at a loss: in other words, for 1,000 lei resources, it only turns out some 900 lei worth of products, for instance—I cannot given you the exact figures. This is a very serious matter and to say that this patrimony is valueless would be quite false. Why? Because these studies show that if $400 million and about 10 billion lei could be invested in the modernization of this great enterprise—a chemical-petrochemical combine—then yearly profits of some $600 million could be obtained. So, until these studies were made, one might have said that the enterprise's patrimony was worthless; now, all of a sudden, the assets of that enterprise are worth almost $2 billion.

We can go even further and state that if one were to invest only 20 percent of the aforementioned amount, one would still make a profit of $50 million per year.

At this point, we depend on this very important credit line in the sphere of technological restructuring. There are many basic enterprises where feasibility projects, that is serious

technical-economic restructuring studies, indicate that spectacular results could be obtained. There is and there must be some government involvement in this field. This is my answer to your previous question.

[Moderator] However, the banks are very slow to grant credits, claiming that they do not have money.

[Roman] If you are talking about hard currency funds, the situation is pretty bad. We are starving, so to speak, for hard currency resources; we note with surprise and sorrow that a whole series of hard currency incomes and revenues from our exports—on which we counted—are not always to be found in our banks; this is a problem under examination now. Anyway, right now our raw material sources depend, to a large extent, on hard currency loans from abroad, which are spread out over a period of time and which are currently in a bottleneck, as I have already said. We are perfectly aware of the fact that we must pump funds into this economy if we want to obtain a certain economic recovery and a new economic start; however, this is also the time when we should learn exactly how to go about it, even if we do not have all the necessary credits and funds. In spite of all this, it is important that our program should look credible, both to those who are going to give us the necessary credits and, as I have noted myself, to the economic agents, too.

The Viscous Layer of Personal Interests Lies Between Those Who Know That They Can Implement the Reform and Those Who Worked Out the Reform

[Moderator] In connection with this program becoming even more credible, I would like to ask you another question: Many hopes were pinned—their echo is still present—on the second stage of the price liberalization. You have often said that, with the start of this second stage, the production mechanism will take off at a faster pace, so to say, thus evening up the balance between offer and demand—meaning that the economic mechanism will finally start moving.

[Roman] I told you from the start what the solution is, and it is a simple one. Results are unsatisfactory in quite a number of industrial sectors—one could hardly have expected anything else. There is another cause, which I must mention again, because this time it comes as information received from the basic economic agents, not because I say so, as a sort of political observation. Well, many people say the following: "We realize what has to be done, at the level of industry. We are aware of the fact that we have the necessary institutional and legal instruments as well as the necessary freedom. We know that you, too—at the level of those planning the reform, that is the government—have an open mind and are offering us a correct program. However, there is a kind of viscous layer between us, in which too many personal interests are at play. The enterprises can only move very slowly in this very viscous environment, to send us the necessary signals. We, in turn, are also hampered in conveying our signals." This is a rather correct picture and, I have no doubt that, by applying double pressure from the economic agents and the government, this layer can and must be annihilated.

[Moderator] When you say "they," or "we," I take it you mean the government. Recently, we had a government reshuffle that was commented on, as you well know, by everybody.

[Roman] It would have been quite bad if it had not been commented upon.

The Priority of the Reshuffled Government is the Practical Sphere of Reform

[Moderator] This is a problem that arises: Could it be that the pace of reform is so slow because there are too many professors and doctors of science in the cabinet and too few practical experts that can implement, let us say, the provisions of the economic reform?

[Roman] You see, I could be tempted to tell you that, in a democratic state, the ministers must be the politicians of their respective sectors. That is, they make politics in the respective sphere, hence, it is most important that they possess the highest qualifications. This is how things stand in all countries. But let us not limit ourselves to this argument!

I would like to tell you that many practical people participated in the old as well as the current government formula. I believe that Minister of State Vatasescu has been for 20 years manager of an enterprise; the minister of industry has also been an enterprise manager for the same number of years, if not more; the minister of trade, who is still minister of trade and tourism in the present cabinet, has been active in the field of trade.

Therefore, it is not exactly correct to claim that we are short of practical people. Of the new ministers that have jointed the cabinet now, Mr. Basescu is even an expert in the field of transportation. So, I would say that that accusation is illusory. In truth, in the very first government session I demanded just that—a practical spirit.

[Moderator] I have something which, how shall I put it, may upset you: When you presented the new cabinet members, you enumerated a whole series of titles...

[Roman] Indeed, I listed the titles of some of them; I had to do it, because it was a positive thing. Allow me to say that I also meet with simple people, on various occasions, and quite often I hear the contrary opinion, namely: "How good that it is no longer like before, as we now have people with solid qualifications in the government."

[Moderator] Another problem, that is also closely linked to the economic reform: Do you not think that there is an inverse relationship in our country right now, when, you, the government, are working out bills, which you then submit to the legislative branch, which in turn discusses and votes them, after which they come back to you for implementation. This prolongs the period of drafting and adopting the respective laws.

[Roman] Well, this is what the separation of powers in the state means!

Legislating Requires A Very Special Process of Thinking; It Requires Professionalism, Political Thought, and Even Imagination—Within the Limits of a Very Rigorous Logic

[Moderator] Why are there no specialized commissions in the Parliament—I have in mind very strong commissions, with technocrats and experts outside the Parliament—that can speed up the passage of this package of laws?

[Roman] I believe that this was not and is not possible in any kind of democracy—not because of the democracy as such, but because of the functioning of the political system itself. If others were to draft our laws, then we, the government, would have to function on the basis of the policies and thoughts of others, which would be almost impossible, if not totally out of question. Therefore, the economic reform we worked out, was primarily conceived on the legislative plane. We submitted some 90 laws to Parliament—let us say, 100 laws—which make up the economic reform package. Therefore, the economic reform is the result of the government's thinking, to which a large number of experts have made a very great contribution—just think of the draft project for transition to the market economy worked out as early as February 1990. Therefore, from a procedural viewpoint, it is impossible and totally undesirable that others should make our laws for us! However, apropos your question about the apparent dragging on of this cycle, indeed it does look and is rather long because of our present conditions, which are special. The Parliament is also a constituent assembly, that is it concerns itself with the drafting of the constitution, and is also a legislative assembly, that is it adopts laws. The pace of the adoption of these laws is quite out of the ordinary, in spite of its apparent slowness; just think that more than 60—I believe the exact figure is 65—of the 100 laws of the reform have already been adopted, and they are the most important ones. One of these most important laws will be submitted to debates shortly, namely the law on privatization. Therefore, I believe that this is the normal procedure. What one can do better—this is an opinion shared by many experts and politicians alike—is to ensure that the laws we submit to the Parliament's discussion are not too long, protracted, and drawn out. They should outline principles, as the history of legislation shows, particularly because we are dealing here with a kind of "primary" legislation, which truly aims at legislating principles, following that the details should be worked out by the executive branch.

[Moderator] Still, since you are talking about laws, our laws are pretty stuffy. Having traveled quite a lot in the world and having had many contacts with prominent figures and international bodies, you must have seen both in France, England, or the United States that the laws contain maximum 10 points.

[Roman] No. Not all of them. It depends. Indeed, some of our laws could have been shorter. I agree with you in this respect. To legislate requires a very special thinking process. It is a professional act on the part of those who actually write the text, a political act, and even an act of imagination, within the limits of a very rigorous logic.

The Forthcoming Law on Privatization is the Basic Key of the Legislative Edifice of Reform

[Moderator] Why then this long delay with the Law on Privatization?

[Roman] The forthcoming law on privatization is such an important law that we cannot permit ourselves to bring it out only in an approximate form. It must be exact; it must accord with the points I have mentioned so far; and, you see, it must also have two qualities, namely, it should give incentives and, in spite of that, should also offer protection. Do you see that? Well, this is not an easy thing to do. Nevertheless, we are in the final stages of its elaboration, one could even say the final stage, before submitting it to Parliament.

[Moderator] This law is absolutely necessary, since the progress of economic reform substantially depends on this law.

[Roman] Correct. I fully agree with you and with the requests of many political groupings and experts along these lines.

[Moderator] I would have liked us to talk some more about this privatization.

[Roman] Please, allow me to suggest to you that this discussion on the privatization process—which has just now started in earnest, since what has taken place so far was only the creation of some private units mainly in collateral and somewhat marginal spheres, although pretty important in their way—well, not just one, but several such discussions about the substance, legal aspects, and the consequences of the law may be conducted within a series of programs on television.

[Moderator] Looking at my watch, I see that the time for our interview has run out. Thank you! This issue of economic reform is too complex.

[Roman] It is very large, indeed. There have emerged some so-called economic programs that claim to be "alternative ones." Let me tell you that we have seriously examined certain elements of these programs, particularly the program of Professor Rugina or the Cojocaru program. Consequently, we can take over some of the elements of these programs that agree with our concept, following discussions with their supporters; however, the subject as such a very huge. I believe that our present intention is to give a signal in the practical sphere. I believe that today's signal was a first important one in this respect.

[Moderator] We extend to you an invitation for a further discussion on this subject. Thank you very much!

[Roman] With great pleasure!

Bishop Tokes' Address to UDMR Congress

AU2505171191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1459 GMT 25 May 91

[Report on speech by Bishop Laszlo Tokes, "honorary president," given to UDMR Congress in Tirgu Mures on 24 May]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/5/1991—Addressing the 2nd congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) which has been unfolding in Tirgu Mures since Friday, the Reformed Bishop of Oradea [Laszlo Tokes] pleaded for courage, unity and radicalization of the union.

Laszlo Tokes argumented the necessity of attaining those goals as follows:

First thing we need is political courage. There is truth in the words "being afraid is being in crisis": That is one of the depressing lessons of historical and social experience. It is on fear that any dictatorship relies. The Eastern nations have been pushed by communism to a grave general crisis, institutionalized by fear. Within it, the Hungarian minority has been pushed to an existentialist crisis by a double fear. We are still victims of the visceral fear all the "Eastern camp" has inherited from the recent past. It is not a simple accident that the last forces of communism, in an effort to hold their ground against advancing democracy—a Byzantine-Balkan totalitarian system as is the case in Romania—are trying, by means of intimidation, to stop not only minority emancipation, but the general process of bourgeois- democratic liberation and the democratic change of the society as a whole.

One of the aims of the anti-Hungarian campaign unleashed after the Eger conference and artificially amplified was to create a heavy atmosphere of intimidation about the UDMR congress, to silence our tongues with paralyzing fear.

I certainly am not urging you to be recklessly bold, I am urging you to have the kind of manly, passionless, objective courage which assesses circumstances, conditions and effects, while committing yourselves to serve one cause, to fight and take risks.

Let the love of our national being make us brave. Such feeling must not exclude the love of other nations, of the Romanian nation.

A second aspect we should stick to is unity. Referring to "proverbial Hungarian dissensions" in our present situation and especially here, in Tirgu Mures is, I believe, ill-timed. Here and now, under the given circumstances, we must solve between ourselves the problems of our life and of our future. Despite our differences and the variety of our interests and opinions, the only way out is through unity "from within."

Only those in favour of restoring communism, our enemies, count on our division. Our nation expects us to reach a consensus. Besides those two points which are rather of a moral nature, I wish to draw your attention on one practical methodological principle—radicalism.

That means, to use the word etymologically, that we need take a radical approach and seek radical solutions. I'm speaking of a radical separation from the past and radical changes. Like for the previous points, this imperative need may be extended to our whole society, even to the whole area which is now facing hardships in its passage from communism to democracy.

In Romania, changes are not structural, they are just superficial; the original elation has quickly faded, the democratic process has slowed down, communist obstructing and restructuring forces are operating very efficiently.

Under the circumstances, the Hungarians' and the whole opposition's activity is making regress. A real restructuring and democratization of the society are being delayed indefinitely.

To conclude, we can firmly assert that there has been no decisive change or revival in the condition, future and status of Hungarians living in Transylvania since December 1989 until now. Our life is better now than two years ago, just like it was better in the 70's than any time before or after, but that is a relative not a radical difference. They want us to be satisfied with concessions, with partial, apparent results, with bits of the rights we are entitled to, with sparingly portioned rations of freedom. And, if we fail to be content with just that, we have to face misunderstanding and national intolerance; or, what's more, they make us look as privileged. We must not give way to present pressure, we must try to get rid of our past condition as minority subjects, to break our bondage.

We must look toward total national emancipation. We do not want to remain minority subjects of a majority population, we must become partners with equal rights of the Romanians in our common motherland. For that purpose, we may look upon last century's struggle for national freedom of Romanian Transylvanians as a good example to follow and a useful lesson.

We should first of all reach a firm decision about our collective status within the Romanian society, in Transylvania to be more specific, and we should turn it into law.

We must fight a peaceful political battle that may take years, for a legal, democratic solution of our situation, for a legal guarantee of our individual and collective rights. That aspiration is in keeping with the Romanian people's effort to create a democratic state of law.

We must have political guarantees from the Romanian state for unreserved respect of our ethnic identity, of our social status and our rights, covered, as much as possible, by international guarantees, such as Romanian-Hungarian inter-state accords, European documents.

With a view to attaining such political objectives, an extraordinary delegation made up of prominent exponents of the Hungarian population of Romania should start as

soon as possible negotiations with lawful representatives of the Romanians, of the Romanian state, with the firm demand that a comprehensive package of laws solve once and for all one of the most serious ethnic problems facing our country. Parallelly, at a high level of national interest, we should start an ample dialogue between our nations in a spirit of mutual tolerance, apt to achieve a real national reconciliation. Romania will find its place in Europe only when at home, inside the country, everyone has found its right place to live, without feeling a tolerated foreigner in a "national unitary state" with exclusive aspirations, Bishop Tokes concluded.

Demonstrator Reportedly Run Over in Maribor

AU2405175691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1720 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we are again in contact with the Maribor studio. What is going on?

[Unidentified reporter] We will again explain the report that we broadcast 15 minutes ago. Units of the Internal Affairs Service in Maribor have informed us about an accident that occurred on Ljubljanska Street at one of the exits from the Vojvoda Misic Barracks.

An armored personnel carrier ran over one of the demonstrators surrounding the aforementioned barracks. Dr. Breznik from the Casualty Unit of the Maribor Hospital stated a few minutes ago that a dead man with a completely smashed chest was brought into this unit. At this moment it is still impossible to establish the victim's identity, therefore, the news we are broadcasting is still unofficial. In brief, it is now evident that the Maribor events have taken their toll.

Military Statement on Maribor Events

LD2405162191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 24 May (TANJUG)—The Fifth Military District Command in Zagreb released a statement today that stresses that two members of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] were arrested yesterday in a totally unauthorized and unlawful manner in the vicinity of Maribor and that the appropriate JNA authorities will take energetic measures to ensure normal conditions for the Army to live and work in Slovenia's territory.

The statement reads as follows:

"The public has already been informed that some armed individuals from the illegally established military training center of the Slovene Territorial Defense arrested yesterday, in the vicinity of Maribor, two members of the JNA who were carrying out their routine tasks there.

"This was done without any reason, in an unauthorized and unlawful manner. The JNA members were released only following energetic intervention by the competent commanding body and by its Army units.

"Because the JNA demands that the individuals responsible for these incidents be put at its disposal were arrogantly refused, the appropriate military authorities took necessary measures in the early morning hours of 24 May 1991 and detained two responsible officers from the Regional Territorial Defense Headquarters of the Republic of Slovenia to carry out appropriate investigative procedures.

"These events have been used as a pretext for taking all-out anti-Army measures and actions in the Republic of Slovenia and even for such moves that aim to bring the existence and work of JNA units and commanding bodies in this republic to a complete standstill.

"Appropriate JNA units are taking, and will take, energetic measures by which they will unconditionally ensure normal conditions for the Army's work and existence on the territory of Slovenia. Anyone who uses force against JNA members and units will be energetically prevented from doing so while responsibility will be borne by the perpetrators and organizers of such actions."

Slovene Territorial Defense Commander Released

LD2405175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 24 May 91

[Summary] Maribor, 24 May (TANJUG)—At about 1630 today the commander of the Slovene Territorial Defense, Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Milosevic, was released from the Vojvoda Misic barracks. Upon his release from the barracks Lt. Col. Milosevic said that he was treated correctly by the military police, after which a police car took him to the Maribor city assembly.

Meets Press After Release

LD2405215791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1953 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 May (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Milosevic, commander of the territorial defense of eastern Stajerska, who was released by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] today at about 1700, held a news conference tonight at which he described his talks with the JNA representatives and his abduction. He stressed that the conduct of Major Nikolic, commander of the military police of Maribor, was mainly fair in his treatment of him.

Lt. Col. Milovsevic said that, last night at about 0115, three armed members of the JNA stormed the room in which the talks were being held and kidnapped him together with territorial defense officer Milko Ozmec. Milosevic also stressed the JNA members offered them food and drinks and handcuffed them.

Territorial defense officer Milko Ozmec told the news conference that he was ready to shoot at the JNA members. A machine gun was pointed at him and he decided not to shoot because, as he said, that would bring about casualties, something that was not his aim. He also testified that the JNA members treated him fairly.

[Slovene] Defense Minister Janez Jansa said that the power supply of the military facilities that were deprived of water and power had been restored the moment the two territorial defense officers were released. He also said that this afternoon soldiers in Ptuj fired shots at a worker of this town's electricity network and injured his leg.

Asked by a journalist whether it was likely if further incidents ensued, that the JNA would withdraw from

Slovenia even before the scheduled date, Jansa said that this did not depend solely on their wishes. He also stressed that the "military question" in Slovenia should be resolved in a way that would not seriously infringe on the interests of either side.

Government institutions in Europe have changed their attitude toward Yugoslavia in the wake of this event, so their attitudes are, in Jansa's words, more in favor of Slovenia's aspirations to be independent.

Slovenia's competent institutions will bring a charge against the JNA individuals responsible for the Maribor events, Internal Affairs Secretary Igor Bavcar told the news conference.

At the very end of the conference, Jansa announced the news he had just heard that in Maribor one citizen, Jozef Simcik was killed under the wheels of a personnel carrier on its way out of the Zivojin Misic barracks. Jansa said that "this was the first casualty of the latest dispute between the JNA and Slovenia's territorial defense."

Army Posts Reconnected to Electricity, Telephone

LD2405183291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 May (TANJUG)—After the release of Lieutenant Colonel Milosevic and Sergeant Major Ozmec, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] facilities have been connected to the Post and Telecommunications [PTT] and electricity network.

This announcement was made by Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa, on Slovenian radio. Jansa specified that the "reconnection has already started in keeping with our measures nd promises." The release of both officers and the reconnection of the JNA facilities to the electricity and PTT network will, according to Jansa, contribute to the easing of tension in Slovenia.

Ljubljana Corps Claims Maribor Incidents 'Staged'

LD2505022691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2247 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 May (TANJUG)—The commanding body of the Ljubljana Corps maintains that the latest events in Maribor were staged, a representative of the Ljubljana Corps, Colonel Jovan Miskov, told TANJUG.

Due to the lack of information available to him, he said that he could not comment on the tragic events in Maribor where one citizen lost his life. He stressed that political disputes should be solved peacefully by political methods.

At the same time, Colonel Miskov said he hopes there will be no replay of what happened in Maribor, stressing that relations between the people and Army should be taken into account; that is, people should not rally against their own Army.

He confirmed that in Ljubljana all the military facilities that had been disconnected from power and telephone lines had been returned to the electricity and telephone networks.

VJESNIK Views Maribor 'Incident'

LD2505090291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0303 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 24 (TANJUG)—Zagreb daily VJESNIK considers that the Yugoslav Army's acts in Slovenia have 'crystal-clear political objectives with an all-black hint that one can hardly count with becoming substantive and disjoined in an agreed- oniand peaceful way.' The paper writes so in its commentary coming out tomorrow on the incident in which Slovenian territorials arrested two soldiers in Maribor. The Yugoslav Army responded by arresting two Slovenian territorials in return.

Slovenia is going, under the results of a plebiscite, to proclaim its substantiveness by June 26 next.

The Yugoslav Army's conflict with Slovenia 'cannot be reduced to the context of preventing a civil or internationality war,' but 'enters the context of a large-scale strategy called to defend Yugoslavia's integrity at any price,' VJESNIK thinks.

Pucnik Says Reason Must Prevail in Conflict

AU2405171691 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1600 GMT 24 May 91

[Roland Machatsche report on telephone interview with Joze Pucnik, head of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia and chairman of the Demos government alliance; place not given; "a short time ago"—Pucnik statements in German]

[Text] The leadership in Ljubljana reacts with circumspection to Belgrade's attempt to sound out the limits of Slovenia's sovereignty. Besides measures like power and telephone cuts for the barracks, Slovenia has turned directly to the State Presidency in Belgrade, which is responsible for all Army operations, knowing that this is only a symbolic act because the election of Croatia's [Stipe] Mesic as state president has been blocked by the Serbian bloc.

[Begin Pucnik recording] As a matter of fact, we are without a state leadership now. We do not expect a great deal from our step. I think that we must now rely on our own forces. Reason must prevail. It will certainly not be possible to preserve Yugoslavia with bloodshed. Quite the contrary. If bloodshed should occur in Slovenia as well—the danger is great —not only Yugoslavia will be finished. Every form of democratic participation in this part of Europe will not be possible for many years to come. [end recording]

Joze Pucnik, the chairman of the Slovene government alliance shares the view that forces in Belgrade—within

the general staff, for example—provoked the recent conflict to have an opportunity to intervene militarily. Pucnik confirmed that General Delic's army unit was transferred from Serbia to Maribor as recently as a few days ago, and that new troops from Serbia are also appearing in other parts of Slovenia. Their number is small, but the leadership in Ljubljana sees this as a proof that a planned operation is under way.

Belgrade Daily Supports Army's Acts in Slovenia

LD2505090691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0126 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 24 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI (EVENING NEWS) comments on an incident between Slovenia's Territorial Defence and the Yugoslav Army, evaluating that 'the Army could not help but act in line with its role by constitution.' The incident broke out when territorials in Maribor arrested two soldiers and the Army responded by arresting a territorial defence official.

Asserting in its number coming out tomorrow that the Army had kept its eyes closed to some Slovenia's moves in the field of national defence, in contravention of the Federal Constitution and laws, the paper emphasizes that it 'was too much to expect of the Army to be lenient toward ignoring the federal law on military training and, at the same time, toward training recruits for a Slovenian army.'

The law on military training was passed despite the fact that Slovenia refused to send its recruits to the Yugoslav Army.

Army Says Slovenian Soldier 'Accidentally Killed'

LD2505100491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0701 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) has announced that a soldier of Slovenian nationality, Matjaz Urh, was accidentaly killed. Urh "died of wounds received from two combat vehicles on May 23 in the Vukovar garrison", says a statement issued by the First Army District which was carried by the Slovenian Information Ministry. The First Army District covers northeastern Croatia.

The accident occurred because of disregard for security measures while operating a combat vehicle on the part of lance corporal, driver Danijel Mijokovic, and standing contrary to regulations on the part of Matjaz Urh, the Army statement specifies. The statement adds that the soldier's parents, who visited the scene of their son's death, were "convinced of the accuracy and truthful account of what had happened concerning the death of their son" and "expressed their wish that measures of responsibility not be taken against the lance corporal".

The command of the First Army District urged that the statement be used so as "to curb and prevent possible misinformation and rumours as well as untruthful accounts of events and attacks on the Yugoslav Army.

Reportage on Reaction to Nickles Amendment

Belgrade Radio on U.S.-Serbian Ties

AU2605162591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 26 May 91

[Dragan Colovic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Serbia is being attacked and Yugoslavia is facing even greater divisions. This could perhaps be the most concise commentary on the latest decision of the United States not to apply the so-called Nickles Amendment that suspends economic aid to Yugoslavia. However, the amendment still applies to Serbia.

[Colovic] The Serbian government has asked for the full text of the State Department's stand that suspends the Nickles Amendment. Of course, out of some five pages, Serbia is most interested in the part in which Serbia is accused of endangering human rights in Kosovo, blocking the work of the SFRY Presidency through the non-election of Stipe Mesic as president for the next 12 months, as well as the part that refers to the alleged manipulations of the ruling party in the elections last December.

Only after a thorough examination of this text will the government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia take a stand. However, the communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia demands that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Federal Executive Council also take a stand on this issue.

Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic appears to have been trapped especially because only a few hours before the State Department issued its statement, he, on the arrival in Zagreb airport from his visit to France, positively assessed his 30-minute telephone conversation with U.S. President Bush last week in which he asked the U.S. President to reexamine and suspend the famous Nickles Amendment, which, if applied, could cause great political and material damage to Yugoslavia and its republics, especially Serbia.

After everything that happened—and this was preceded by the futile efforts of the SFRY Ambassador to Washington, Dzevad Mujezinovic, to convince the U.S. side not to put Serbia in the dock, because this would be counterproductive and dangerous for relations in Yugoslavia—Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar urgently asked U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade, Warren Zimmermann, to, as was officially stated, provide an explanation regarding the State Department's statement on the suspension of Nickles Amendment on a selective basis.

We assume that today's talk between Loncar and Zimmermann will not be held in a traditional diplomatic

manner, in contrast to many previous ones when relations between the United States and Yugoslavia and the United States and Serbia were indeed friendly. Let us now hear what happened in Washington in the night between Friday and Saturday. TANJUG's correspondent Dusan Zupan is on the direct line for the "Sunday at 10" program:

[Zupan] The U.S. Government has frozen the Nickles Amendment because it has concluded that it is hitting the wrong target, the Federal Government and not the Serbian leadership. According to the latest State Department's statement it really looks as if the (?direction of the sharp) criticism and sanctions has been corrected but that (?their) aim still remains not only the Serbian government, but also Serbia's interests. A good part of the statement issued in Washington on Friday evening refers to the alleged abuse of human rights in Kosovo. The Serbian authorities are reproached that they themselves contributed toward Albanians demanding a republic through their conduct.

It is also said that Washington will ask for new anti-Serbian steps in the CSCE. Regarding Serbs in Croatia, the formulation of the State Department's communique is much more resolute than when it comes to Kosovo, and leaves room for a conclusion that Serbs are exaggerating and that the situation there is complicated by Serbian nationalist leaders. In addition, selective economic measures against Serbia have also been announced.

The statement clearly says that the reason for the latest U.S. reaction is Serbia's opposition to Stipe Mesic being elected president of the SFRY Presidency and demands that the transfer of power be conducted as envisaged by the Constitution. It is interesting that the State Department's document equates the efforts of Ante Markovic and Stipe Mesic concerning the Constitution. It is also assessed that the work of these politicians is of crucial importance for the continuity of the Yugoslav federal authorities and for general Yugoslav, democratic, and market reforms.

A communique signed by spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler literally states: We hold the leadership of the Republic of Serbia responsible for the crisis in the Yugoslav Presidency. This could be interpreted only be as a deliberate attempt to aggravate the political situation and increase the probability of disintegration and violence.

The document again brings up the thesis on irregularities in elections in Serbia even though the State Department said at the time that the elections were held within the framework of acceptable limits. It is thought that this statement shows that the United States is clearly taking sides in internal clashes in Yugoslavia, and that the consequences of this will be much more serious than the reason contained in the Nickles Amendment, or the aid of $5 million.

[Colovic] Instead of making moves that would lead toward the calming of the already fragile and tense situation in the country, the Americans have obviously made a clumsy, crude, and, from our point of view, irresponsible move that could stoke up passions even more in inter-republican relations, which are at the brink of total disintegration anyhow.

It is interesting that the United States has made this move at the time when Prime Minister Ante Markovic has managed to somehow convince the quarreling republics to abolish the measures of mutual trade and economic war that had been threatening the unified economic area and the unity of the country, something the State Department's communique attaches great importance to. After everything that has been done, this sounds tragicomic, especially if one bears in mind the fact that in two days time the Yugoslav Legislature will most probably discuss confidence in the economic program and the government of Ante Markovic.

It will certainly be very interesting to see how the members of the EC will react to the latest U.S. move made only three days before the visit by the chairman of the EC Jacques Santer and president of the European Commission Jacques Delors to Yugoslavia and its republics.

German Chancellor Kohl asked U.S. President Bush in Washington last week to be cautious when it comes to Yugoslavia, pointing to deep historic roots of divisions and current fermentations in it. The American has obviously not listened to him. The final result of the U.S. move could be a departure from the Yugoslav political scene of the last catalyst, as he [Markovic] is regarded by the United States and Europe, among the almost totally estranged sides, a catalyst whom the malicious people call, not without a reason, the last of the Mohicans, and whose head the Americans could cost, without him, as they claim, even being their target.

Loncar Seeks Explanation of U.S. Position

LD2605185891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—Further to the State Department statement on U.S. policy regarding Yugoslavia and its decision not to implement the so-called Nickles Amendment, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar invited U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

The federal secretary assessed in positive terms Secretary of State James Baker's decision not to implement the Nickles Amemdment on curbing financial support to and cooperation with Yugoslavia.

He pointed out the unacceptability of a selective approach to individual parts of Yugoslavia and stressed that this is not in line with the stands conveyed by President Bush's message to Federal Eecutive Council

President Markovic that clearly set out that the United States is not, and will not be, favorably disposed toward any ethnic or national group in Yugoslavia, that the United States stand is that the differences in relations between the Yugoslav nations should be resolved within the framework of a united and democratic Yugoslavia and that the United States will neither encourage nor award those who wish to dismantle the country.

The federal secretary demanded the U.S. Goverment's explanation in relation to these standpoints set out in the State Department statement to enable the Yugoslav Government to formulate its stand. At the same time he expressed his expectation that all future moves by the U.S. Government will be in the spirit of the principles of equality and partnership that mark mutual relations between the two countries, which have always been based on respect for the mutual interests of the Yugoslav and American nations.

The U.S. ambassador said that he will inform his government about these stands and that he believes the required explanation will be provided. The ambassador stressed that the statement does not mean the withdrawal of support by the United States for unity and the democratic and reformist processes underlined in particular in President Bush's letter. He pointed out that the statement's reference and selectivity should by no means be seen as heralding discrimination against Serbia and that he will supply further explanations as soon as possible.

Daily on 'Gross and Unprovoked Pressure'

LD2805085491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0712 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today that the 'gross and unprovoked pressure' brought by the United States to bear on the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, 'with no actual cause and for no valid reason' is not a threat to integral Yugoslavia alone.

The pressure may seem insignificant enough, but it is as well to remember that the 'effect is hardly ever commensurate to the cause', POLITIKA writes.

Reacting to an attempt at the application of the Nickles amendment which provides for giving aid to Yugoslavia selectively to individual regions, the daily writes that the cause for this U.S. Policy towards Serbia should certainly not be sought in a 'desire to preserve yugoslavia as a clearly-defined whole'.

This kind of pressure might precipitate 'Yugoslavia's break-up much more than if the most ambitious power in the world today were to take a more equitable and better balanced attitude to all'.

POLITIKA writes that, instead of 'smoothing over border divisions in cases where borders are between states, (the United States is endeavouring) to support an effort at the creation of new state borders where none exist'.

The daily goes on to say that Serbia today is not a 'Bolshevik' country and that the U.S. knows full well that there is 'much, much more democracy, plurality and openness (in Serbia) today than... in Tudjman's Croatia'.

The daily expresses conviction that the 'United States will have to re-examine its present rash self-assurance' and that 'pressure is incompatible with democracy, just as humiliation is incompatible with friendship'.

Serbian Government Views Amendment

AU2705233391 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 May 91

[Statement by the Serbian government regarding the partial application of the Nickles Amendment and the State Department's stands issued at the Serbian Government session on 27 May]

[Text] The Serbian government proceeds from the traditional and historic friendship between the U.S. and the Serbian peoples. Not only have these two nations never confronted each other, but their friendship was built at the most difficult times and during the most difficult tests for all of humanity. This was best illustrated during both world wars. This friendship and cooperation between the two nations was confirmed more than one century ago by the conclusions of an agreement on friendship and cooperation between the United States and Serbia. Just because of that, the government of the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people are surprised by the attitude of the United States toward the Republic of Serbia expressed in the State Department's communique.

The State Department's assessment cannot be accepted as having good intentions as they undoubtedly represent direct support and encouragement to Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija and an act of interfering in arbitration of the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign state. Also, they cannot be accepted because the Republic of Serbia in its general politics strives for the full realization of human rights in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

It is particularly incomprehensible why the issue of human rights in Kosovo was not raised when Serbs and Montengrins were being killed there, when innocent women were being harassed, graves were being destroyed, and monasteries and crops were being destroyed and burned, and why the question of human rights is being raised after the Republic of Serbia has undertaken legally founded measures to put a stop to violence against Serbs and Montenegrins in this part of its territory.

This is known to the United States Government, as are the real reasons for problems in the realization of human

rights in Kosovo and Metohija and the constitutional crisis in the SFRY Presidency.

So far there has been an understanding between the governments of the United States and the Republic of Serbia about the significance and interrelations of aims, the democratization of human rights, economic reforms based on market orientation, and the unity of Yugoslavia. Assuming that the United States Government has insufficient and unobjective information about the issues that have been raised in connection with Serbia in the aforementioned statement, which has contributed to such development in relations and one-sided assessments, the government of the Republic of Serbia considers it necessary to point out the following:

The publicly expressed stand of the United States is incompatible with the separate treatment of any integral part of Yugoslavia, in this case the Republic of Serbia. This is only contributing to the disintegrational processes in Yugoslavia.

All conclusions and stands that are derived from such an approach and are derived on a selective basis contradict the declared U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia and place a question mark over the resoluteness of the United States in supporting the unity and the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Any insistence on a selective approach to Yugoslavia leads to the opposition of one of its parts to the rest of Yugoslavia, and amounts to interference in its internal relations.

For the government of the Republic of Serbia it is unacceptable that the State Department persistently bases its assessments on unchecked facts on the state of human rights in Kosovo and Metohija, especially on the causes of the troubled interethnic relations in this part of the Republic of Serbia.

Serbia does not found its right to Kosovo and Metohija on primarily historic reasons, as it is stated in the State Department communique, but also on the fact that Kosovo and Metohija have been and still are part of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia on the basis of existing international peace agreements, such as the London agreement and international agreements concluded after World Wars I and II.

The Albanian minority in the Republic of Serbia enjoys the broadest rights guaranteed to minorities according to international standards and agreements. This minority has its own Academy of Sciences, university, full freedom of education in its own language, its cultural, scientific, and sports institutions, as well as its political organizations and institutions. The problem in Kosovo and Metohija does not lie in the realization of human rights, but in the demand by a section of the Albanian minority, which was publicly formulated in 1968 and 1981, that this territory secede, via a Kosovo Republic, from the territory of Serbia and later from Yugoslavia.

Despite all this, the activities of the separatist movement in Kosovo and Metohija have continued. Supporting such activities is in direct opposition with the stand expressed by the United States on several occasions that it will neither encourage nor reward secession in Yugoslavia.

The State Department communique directly encourages the separatist movement in Kosovo and Metohija. The Government of the United States should publicly condemn separatism in Kosovo and Metohija as the main cause of all clashes in this province, something that has not been done in any way up to now.

It is particularly worrying that the United States accepts unsubstantiated claims on the mass firing of Albanians from their jobs for political reasons. The fact is, however, that they have been voluntarily leaving work due to the orders and pressure of the secessionist forces aimed at causing economic problems.

The government of the Republic of Serbia is particularly surprised by the way in which the assessments are made in the communique about the election of the president of the SFRY Presidency and multiparty elections in the Republic of Serbia in December 1990.

Regarding the holdup in the procedure of electing the president of the SFRY Presidency, the Government of the Republic of Serbia is particularly worried by the statement on the readiness of the United States to exert strong pressure together and in parallel with others for the election of Mr. Mesic in a way opposite to Article 327 of the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The government of the Republic of Serbia will strive within its constitutionally defined rights and duties for the election of the president of the SFRY Presidency to be conducted with respect of the principles of the rule of law for which the Government of the United States has also strived. The CSCE documents bind us to respect them.

The government of the Republic of Serbia points out that according to Article 327 of the SFRY Constitution, every member of the SFRY Presidency has the right to vote for a certain candidate for the position of the president of the SFRY Presidency, and that every member of the SFRY Presidency, including Mr. Mesic, used that right, and that the results of the democratic voting must therefore be respected.

Considering the nature of the SFRY Presidency as an elected body, the government of the Republic of Serbia is convinced that the results of the democratic voting cannot be a cause of disintegration and civil clashes, as stated in the State Department communique.

The government of the Republic of Serbia concludes that, despite the fact that there are numerous facts and proofs of the violation of the basic human rights of Serbs in Croatia, as well as the disruption in work of members

of the mass media, especially mistreatment of journalists, the torture of prisoners, burning Serbs' property, the physical maltreatment of priests, and the desecration of Orthodox churches, and other similar acts, the State Department communique attaches only a casual and marginal importance to these facts that are allegedly being raised by Serbian representatives.

On the basis of the above, the government of the Republic of Serbia assesses that with its communique the State Department directly interferes in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and wants to influence political decisions in Yugoslavia, which contradicts the UN Charter, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Paris Charter. It is certain that this will widen the existing internal differences and that it will be used as an argument and means of propaganda in the discussion on the country's future structure.

The intention of the Government of the United States to invoke the second level of the mechanism of the human dimension of the CSCE document in connection with the state of human rights in Kosovo and Metohija and to encourage other countries that are signatories of the CSCE to do the same, is not in line with the character of friendly relations between the United States and Yugoslavia and does not contribute toward the strengthening of mutual trust as an essential element in realizing the aims of the CSCE.

By inviting other countries to follow the policy of the United States toward Yugoslavia within the framework of the CSCE, the United States has taken upon itself serious responsibility for the future development of mutual relations and reaction by the Yugoslav public.

The Serbian people still remember the genocide conducted against Serbs during both World War I and World War II. This is illustrated by the fact that one million Serbs or one fifth of the population were killed in World War II alone. Bearing in mind the fact that the vital interests of the Serb population are endangered in Kosovo and Metohija and Croatia, the Serbian people consider the stands of the State Department as encouragement to those forces that are endangering their basic interests.

The government of the Republic of Serbia concludes that the support to Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija and direct interference in relations in Serbia and Yugoslavia are an unacceptable stand by the Government of the United States toward the traditionally friendly people of Serbia and their government. This especially applies to the announcement of selective sanctions on a discriminatory basis and in contradiction with moral and political aims that are currently prevalent in international relations, as well as the principles of international movement for whose correctness and democracy the United States also officially strives.

The means and methods of pressure from the cold war era are unacceptable for international relations. Such relations could be built and developed only on the basis of cooperation on an equal footing and strict adherence to the basic principles of international relations and by increasing awareness about general democratic values.

This was stated in a communique issued from the session of the government of the Republic of Serbia today.

Serbia Requests Details of Amendment

LD2505135791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—The Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced today that "The government of the Republic of Serbia has asked for the full text and stance of the State Department on the Nickles amendment, and on the singling out of Serbia and application of special measures against it, so the government can consider it at its session, and adopt its stand."

Meanwhile, the announcement says, it is also expected that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Federal Executive Council should adopt a stand and make a decision on these questions.

Federal Presidency Members Interviewed

AU2505205591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 May 91

[Branka Mihajlovic report]

[Text] What is happening with the SFRY Presidency? Does it exist or not? Is it functioning or not? Is the failure to elect a president a violation of the Constitution, as some people are claiming, or is it an expression of the free political will of its members, as others claim? Let us look at the following report.

[Branka Mihajlovic] There is nothing new in the SFRY Presidency. The official explanation, no matter how it may sound to you and us, is that the collective head of state is constantly in session. As General Secretary Anton Stari told us, there has been no need for the Presidency to meet in the last few days, but he says that regular duties are being performed.

We are getting used to being without a president and vice president. News about this is being removed from the front pages of the newspapers, and if only there were no reaction from the rest of the world.

However, let us move on to domestic territory. The coordinator Sejdo Bajramovic stated on Monday that he had tried to consult with Presidency members, but not all of them were in Belgrade. The SFRY Assembly did not catch the ball that had been thrown to it: It is not responsible for interpreting the Constitution. Perhaps the ball was not even thrown because the official request from the Presidency did not even arrive.

The pinnacle of yet another intrigue, which is probably still only possible in our unhappy south, is the statement

by Stipe Mesic that he is president of the Presidency, and then the denials of the general secretary that the letter sent from Mesic's office bearing an official stamp was only private correspondence.

The Macedonian Assembly has requested that the Presidency proclaim Mesic president and Kostic vice president. The Serbian opposition has reacted negatively to the selection of Bajramovic as coordinator. On his return from the United States, Dragoljub Micunovic said that this is part of Yugoslav culture in which politics is war and reasonable capitulation high treason. Bogic Bogicevic has confirmed that Mesic was not elected, while the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly recognized the self-proclaimed president.

We managed to talk to three of the eight members of the Presidency yesterday. First of all, Stipe Mesic [SFRY Presidency member from Croatia] explained what he intends to do:

[Begin Recording] [Mesic] First of all, I will call a meeting in the Presidency, and then we will agree on when the session will be held.

[Mihajlovic] Is the meeting in the Presidency with the members of the Presidency?

[Mesic] With the members who accept the invitation and with the appropriate members of the government.

[Mihajlovic] Do you know who will accept the invitation?

[Mesic] No.

[Mihajlovic] Tell me, if you receive an invitation from Comrade Bajramovic, will you come to a session of the Presidency?

[Mesic] Who is this Bajramovic?

[Mihajlovic] Presidency member Sejdo Bajramovic.

[Mesic] I have no idea who he is. [end recording]

[Begin Recording] [Mihajlovic] Comrade Jugoslav Kostic.

[Jugoslav Kostic, SFRY Presidency member from Vojvodina] Yes.

[Mihajlovic] If you receive an invitation from Mr. Mesic to attend a meeting in the Presidency will you accept the invitation?

[Jugoslav Kostic] No.

[Mihajlovic] And if you receive an invitation from Sejdo Bajramovic?

[Jugoslav Kostic] Well, we agreed at the last session that he will be the first to call a session [words indistinct].

[Mihajlovic] Do you know if this session will take place next week?

[Jugoslav Kostic] I think that we must meet at the beginning of the week and agree to work. The Presidency exists as the collective head of state, only we still do not have a president or vice president. We must come to agreement and resolve these problems. [end recording]

[Begin Branko Kostic, SFRY Presidency member from Montenegro, recording] Mesic cannot call this session. He has not been elected president and, of course, I will not go. If Sejdo Bajramovic calls a session then I will of course go. I think that the next session, that is in fact a continuation, will be held very quickly for the simple reason that we, the majority members, have been able to agree and decide and we have agreed that this next resumption, that this next meeting, will be chaired by Sejdo Bajramovic. Probably, if we do not resolve this problem we will again agree on another member of the Presidency who would lead the next resumption of the session.

[Mihajlovic] Presidency General Secretary Anton Stari who has been in the public eye more in the last week than in the whole two years that he has been in this job told us in the Palace of the Federation:

[Begin Stari Recording] I do not have any official information indicating that a session of the Presidency should be organized, which would definitely be given to me by Comrade Bajramovic, but according to what I have unofficially heard from some members of the Presidency, they are carrying out consultations with each other.

On the other hand, apart from consulting among themselves, they are holding consultations in their republics. I have also heard, for example, that Dr. Drnovsek wrote in the book of condolences [at the Indian Embassy] yesterday on behalf of the Presidency and after he came to the Presidency, he had a meeting with Dr. Jovic. Of course, I do not know what this meeting was about—I was not present—but they had a meeting. I assume, and in fact it is difficult to believe otherwise, that among other things they discussed the present situation.

Therefore, we are left to once again wait for next week, and until then it is only necessary to survive one more weekend, although the weekends have for quite a while brought more surprises than workdays.

Mesic Refuses To Attend Next Presidency Session

LD2705190191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 27 May (TANJUG)—Croatian TV, citing HINA [Croatian News agency], announced this evening that Stipe Mesic will not attend a session of the SFRY Presidency, convened for tomorrow.

Mesic said that "tomorrow's session will politicize the situation even further," and that he will not attend a session convened by Sejdo Bajramovic. He made it clear that he will attend a Presidency session only when the

Presidency confirms his election to the post of the president of the SFRY Presidency.

Mesic Says Army Wants to 'Arbitrate' Crisis

LD2405185791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 24 (TANJUG)—Croatia's member of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic today accused the Army of wishing to arbitrate in the political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Mesic, until recently the vice-president of the eight-member collective head of state, failed to win the required majority of votes to be elected president.

Addressing a news conference in Zagreb, he said that attempts are being made to obstruct the work of the Presidency, the Federal Government and the Federal Parliament so that "only one federal body—the Army—would [words indistinct] to arbritate in the political settlement of the crisis."

According to Mesic, "the Presidency is preparing an informal session which may result in a decision on using the Army in Slovenia."

The situation in Slovenia has deteriorated after military police today arrested the commander of Slovenia's territorial defence, Colonel Vladimir Milosevic, in the republic's province of Eastern Styria.

The arrest was preceded by an incident in the town of Maribor yesterday where Slovenian territorial defence units arrested two members of the Yugoslav Army.

Mesic said he would not attend the informal session to which he was invited today by Presidency coordinator Sejdo Bajramovic, Kosovo's representative to the body.

"There are no conditions for civil war because there is no conflict between Serbs and Croats in Croatia," said Mesic but added that "there is a conflict between Croatian authorities and Chetniks who are arriving from Serbia and parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Jovic Views Election as SPS President

AU2405164691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 May 91

[Zorica Pantelic report on news conference by Borisav Jovic, SFRY Presidency member and president-elect of the Socialist Party of Serbia, SPS, with local reporters on 24 May; place not given]

[Text] Dr. Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, was elected president of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] today. The SPS called a news conference regarding the election of a new president. The journalists' questions were answered by Jovic, that is to say, the newly-elected president and SFRY Presidency member, and three members of the party's presidium, Vladimir Stambuk, Petar Skundric, and Tomislav Rajicevic.

[Pantelic] Vladimir Stambuk, member of the SPS Executive Committee, who is in charge of contacts with the press, first of all informed the journalists that at a session that ended immediately before the beginning of the news conference, the Main Committee unanimously elected Borisav Jovic president of the SPS. This was followed by questions presented by the journalists.

Radio Belgrade asked whether the election of Jovic as SPS president violates this party's statute because the president is elected by the congress. Petar Skundric, the party's general secretary, replied by saying that the Main Committee is the highest organ of the party between two congresses. The committee had assessed that it would be irrational to hold a congress now, so it made the decision, in line with the statute, on the election of the president. In this respect, Skundric added, the Main Committee had borne in mind the demands of members.

YUTEL was interested in why there was not a larger number of candidates. The reply was that despite recommendations by the Main Committee to propose more candidates, the basic organizations had proposed only Jovic.

The Slovene Television journalist asked what the stand of the SPS is regarding Yugoslavia. Jovic replied that the SPS adheres to the view that Yugoslavia exists and that all those who want to leave it should do so in a peaceful and democratic way. The SPS thinks that extraordinary elections are not necessary. This was a reply to a question by the Belgrade Television journalist.

Journalists then asked how the SPS sees the resolution of the state crisis in the country. Jovic replied that the crisis in Yugoslavia should be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. Our aim is not to provoke inter-republican conflicts. Jovic said that the president must be elected and not proclaimed. In this respect, Jovic stressed that Croatia can withdraw its candidate or be passed over.

We do not accept blackmail from outside. This was the reply to a request to comment on the enforcement of the Nichles amendment, and Jovic added that this was a matter of economic blackmail from outside.

The news conference of the SPS was attended by about 50 Yugoslav journalists.

Bank Official Releases Foreign Debt Figures

LD2305021891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2147 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—On May 15 this year, Yugoslavia's foreign debt stood at 16.3 billion dollars, of which long- and medium-term loans accounted about 14.7 billion.

The country's foreign debt hit a record figure in 1988, when it amounted to 22.1 billion dollars.

The figures were released by Vice Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Zarko Trbojevic in an interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA. Trbojevic heads the Yugoslav team in all talks with the International Monetary Fund.

According to Trbojevic, Yugoslavia owes a total of 3.4 billion dollars to international financial institutions, 5.4 billion dollars to Western governmets, 4.5 billion dollars to commercial banks and 1.4 billion dollars to other creditors.

Yugoslav debt to the International Monetary Fund totals 620 million dollars, to the World Bank 1.41 billion dollars and to other international financial institutions 1.109 billion dollars.

A total of 2.6 billion dollars of the principal and 1.8 billion dollars in interest fall due this year. In addition, the country needs at least 12.5 billion dollars in fresh money for economic restructuring.

To secure these funds, Yugoslavia must urgently sign a new stand-by agreement with the IMF, because all other financial institutions make their loans conditional on this agreement.

In the latest round of talks with the IMF in Washington earlier this month, the Yugoslav delegation was informed that the new arrangement will be signed only on the following conditions: if the Yugoslav Government and the republics reach agreement on the functioning of the Federal budget, if the National Bank of Yugoslavia becomes an independent central monetary authority and if general and collective spending are curbed.